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AMERICAN WOMEN: THREE DECADES OF CHANGE

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AMERICAN WOMEN: THREE DECADES OF CHANGE

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1983

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 340, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Olympia J. Snowe (member of the committee) presiding.

Present: Representative Snowe.

Also present: James K. Galbraith, deputy director; and Mary E. Eccles, Robert Premus, and Alexis Stungevicius, professional staff members; and Ann Carper and Lesley Primmer, legislative assistants to Representative Snowe.

OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE SNOWE, PRESIDING

Representative SNOWE. The hearing will come to order, please.

Today's hearing is designed to explore the changing role of women in the work force and is first in a series of four hearings that will be held by the Joint Economic Committee on female labor force participation. There is no denying the fact that women are playing an increasingly active role in the work force. From 1950 to 1980, women between the ages of 16 and 64 have increased their labor force participation from 34 percent to 52 percent. Today there are 45 million women in the work force, as compared to 16.7 in 1947, an increase of 173 percent.

We expect that 1 million women will enter the work force each year for the balance of this decade, and that women will constitute 2 out of 3 entrants in the work force.

As significant as these figures are, I think the Census Bureau report which will review the demographic changes over the last 30 years is very significant, because it will examine the marriage age and rates, childbearing expectations, as well as educational attainment. We think that these factors are very important to female labor force participation.

The Census Bureau report, "American Women: Three Decades of Change," will examine many of the changes in the women's labor force participation.

Today we have with us two panels. The first panel, of course, is from the Census Bureau. We welcome you here today, and we know you will be reviewing the demographic trends.

Second, we have another panel of economists who will examine the women in the labor force and the changes that these demographic

trends will have on the female labor force participation. All the factors indicated by the Census Bureau report are very important, because they determine the types of jobs women will enter, the pattern of their work experience as well as their projected earnings, and ultimately, I think, the quality of life that women can provide for themselves and their families.

So we welcome all of you here today. We think your testimony will be very interesting. And so I guess you can begin. Thank you. I will submit my entire written opening statement for the record at this point.

[The statement referred to follows:]

WRITTEN OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE SNOWE

Today's hearing is designed to explore the changing role of women in the work force, and is first in a series of four Joint Economic Committee hearings on female labor force participation. Future hearings will examine the problems and needs facing younger, middleaged and older women workers at different stages of their careers. During these hearings, the Committee will investigate how educators, legislators and employers can best prepare and integrate women into well-paying jobs in both traditional and non-traditional areas.

There is no denying that women are playing an increasingly active role in the work force. From 1950 to 1980, labor force participation for women aged 16–64 increased from 34 to 52 percent. While women aged 45–64 disproportionately accounted for the increase in female labor force participation in the 1950's, women aged 20–44, that is, women in their childbearing and childrearing years, accounted for the greatest increase in the 1960's and 1970's.

What is most striking is the dramatic growth in labor force participation by married women with children under six. Their labor force participation increased nearly four-fold—from 12 percent in 1950 to 45 percent in 1980; by 1980, 62 percent of mothers of school-aged children were in the labor force.

Today there are 45 million women in the work force, an increase of 173 percent between 1947 and 1980. As economic needs and social expectations evolve, this number will continue to grow. Almost one million additional women will enter the work force each year for the balance of this decade; women will constitute two out of every three entrants.

As significant as these overall figures are, it is also important to examine individual factors affecting women's labor market patterns. The Census Bureau report, American Women: Three Decades of Change, which forms the basis of this hearing, does just that. It reviews demographic changes over the past thirty years in marriage ages and rates, childbearing expectations, educational attainment, wages and income, and household composition. These factors determine the types of jobs women seek and hold, the pattern of their work careers, their projected earnings, and ultimately the quality of life they are able to provide for themselves and their families.

The Census report also documents disturbing patterns that affect women's economic status and their full integration into the work force. For instance, the gap between men and women's earnings widened from 65 percent in 1955 to 59 percent in 1980. Women are still pursuing traditionally female fields and are proportionately overrepresented in clerical and service positions. And approximately 60 percent of the black poverty population and a quarter of the white poverty population lived in female-headed families in 1980.

Congress must address these problems. We must work to close the wage gap between men and women. We must provide child care incentives and improve child support enforcement. And we must help lower the barriers which discourage women from entering traditionally male-dominated professions and participating fully in the work force.

This morning, our first panel from the Census Bureau will review the demographic trends of women's changing role in society. Our second panel of economists will examine the implications that these changes have on women in the work force.

I would like to welcome our distinguished witnesses, and I thank each of you for your appearance here today.

STATEMENT OF C. LEWIS KINCANNON, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, ACCOMPANIED BY SUZANNE M. BIANCHI AND DAPHNE SPAIN, COAUTHORS, "AMERICAN WOMEN: THREE DECADES OF CHANGE"

Mr. KINCANNON. Thank you very much, Representative Snowe. I am Lewis Kincannon, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Census. I would like to introduce Ms. Suzanne Bianchi, on my left, and Ms. Daphne Spain, to her left, who are joining me this morning and who, of course, are the authors of this report of great interest to all of us.

We are very pleased to have the opportunity to testify before the committee about this recent report on changes in the lives of American women. This report is an overview of major statistical trends for women. And this brief summary lays the groundwork for a longer 1980 census monograph on women which Ms. Spain and Ms. Bianchi are now working on.

The major findings of this report are that the majority of women still get married and have children, although they are marrying later and having fewer children. More women are divorcing now than in 1950, and more are maintaining their own households. Educational attainment has improved considerably over time, and with those improvements have come increased work opportunities outside the home. Labor force participation rates rose from about one-third of all women in 1950 to just over one-half in 1980. The largest increases have occurred among women with preschool children. Women are concentrated in particular occupations; an income difference persists between men and women; and the proportion of the poverty population living in families maintained by women has increased over the past 30 years.

Now let us look at each of these findings in a little more detail. Beginning with marital status, as of 1980, over 90 percent of women and 85 percent of men over the age of 30 had been married at least once. There have been important changes in the timing and duration of marriage in recent decades. Especially important is the delay in first marriage. Women are now marrying almost 2 years later, on average, then they did right after the Second World War, and the proportion of women aged 20 to 24 who have never married, rose from approximately one-third in 1950 to 50 percent in 1980.

The 1970's were the first time in American history that more marriages ended every year in divorce than the death of a partner. If current divorce rates persist into the future, then census projections are that almost one-half of all marriages that occurred in the early 1970's will end in divorce.

The proportion of women who reported themselves currently divorced rose from 2.4 percent in 1950 to 6.6 percent in 1980. Proportions divorced are highest for women in their thirties and early forties.

Substantial changes have also occurred in childbearing patterns. The majority of American women are mothers by the age of 45. In 1980, only about 6 percent of all ever-married women aged 40 to 44 remained childless, but there have been significant changes in the timing of births. The proportion of ever-married women in their twenties who have not had a child rose dramatically between 1960 and 1980, as shown in the attached tables and figures to the prepared statements.

During the 1970's, a significant proportion of women delayed childbearing until after age 30.

Families have become smaller in the last 20 years and current birth expectations of American women remain low by past standards. The average number of children expected per woman aged 18 to 24 years old was three in 1950 but under two in 1980.

Although overall fertility has fallen, fertility outside of marriage has doubled over the past 30 years. Differences in birth rates for single women are particularly pronounced by race. In 1980, about 55 percent of births to black women occurred outside marriage, compared with 10 percent of births to white women.

Workingwomen have fewer children and expect fewer children than women who do not work. For example, in 1981, young employed women expected 1.9 children and 14 percent expected to remain childless. Women not in the labor force expected 2.3 children and only 6 percent expected to remain childless.

As a result of these trends in marital status and childbearing patterns, household and family living arrangements have also changed.

As shown in Figure 1, within each age group, and among all marital statuses, the proportion of women who maintain their own households has increased since 1950. In some cases, the increase has been particularly dramatic, such as for young single women, 54 percent of whom maintained their own households in 1980, compared with 12 percent in 1950. For each age and marital status group, the change has been at least 20 percentage points.

Representative SNOWE. Mr. Kincannon, can you postpone your testimony, and I will go and vote and return. Sorry.

Mr. KINCANNON. Certainly, be glad to.

[A short recess was taken at this point.]

Representative SNOWE. Sorry for the interruption.

Mr. KINCANNON. That is quite all right.

We are just beginning to discuss household and family living arrangements and how they have changed, and I was drawing your attention to figure 1 in the attachment to the prepared statement that we have included, which shows within each age group and among all married statuses, the proportion of women who maintained their own households. And it shows you that that proportion has increased since 1950. In some cases, the increase has been particularly dramatic, such as for young single women, 54 percent of whom maintained their own household in 1980, compared to only 12 percent in 1950. For each age and marital status group, the change has been at least 20 percentage points which is quite a considerable and dramatic change. Among younger women, the increase has come about because of later marriage and higher rates of divorce, and because there has been an increase in the proportion who form their own households rather than live in the home of another adult. At older ages, a much higher proportion of widowed women live alone now than in 1950.

Racial differences in the proportion of families maintained by a woman are striking and have widened in recent decades. Black women are much more likely than white women to maintain their own families. In 1980, 40 percent of black families were maintained by a woman, compared with 12 percent of white families, and black chil-

dren under 18 were slightly more likely to be living with their mother than to be with both parents.

As women marry later and delay having children, their college enrollment and educational attainment has risen.

Historically, women have had lower college enrollment rates than men, but there has been a substantial narrowing of the difference during the past 30 years. In fact, women's college enrollment rates are now similar to men's. Women are also edging closer to males in the attainment of higher degrees, but the content of their postsecondary education remains different from that of men. A higher percentage of women than men major in education, humanities, health sciences, and relatively fewer women major in the physical sciences and engineering. These differences narrowed somewhat between 1966 and 1982, especially as more women began to major in business and fewer majored in education.

Almost half of the bachelor's and master's degrees awarded in 1979–80 went to women, compared to 42 percent a decade earlier. During the 1970's there was a large increase in the number of women receiving doctoral degrees: by 1980, approximately 30 percent of degrees at this level were earned by women, compared with 13 percent 10 years before.

A fifth of all law degrees are earned by women, a sizable increase from the earlier 5-percent level. Almost 20 percent of medical degrees go to women, a doubling from the earlier period. Currently about 21 percent of men and 14 percent of women have completed college, compared with 7 percent of men and 5 percent of women in 1950?

While educational attainment for women has risen, the increase in women's labor force participation has been most noticeable. Perhaps no other change has more far-reaching implications for society and the economy than the dramatic increase in the number and proportion of workingwomen. Between 1950 and 1980, the number of women in the labor force increased by 148 percent, while the number of men in the labor force increased by 41 percent. Men's participation rates remain higher than those for women at each age, but women have been increasing their rate of participation as men's participation rate has declined, particularly at the older ages. Women's participation rates rose from 34 percent in 1950 to 52 percent in 1980; men's participation rates fell from 87 to 78 percent.

The increase in female labor force participation during the 1950's was disproportionately accounted for by older women who had completed their childbearing and most of their childbearing activities. Figure 2 shows a different pattern during the 1960's and 1970's, when participation rates rose most rapidly among women aged 20 to 44, the ages when childbearing responsibilities are typically greatest.

Figure 3, which is restricted to married women, shows that the labor force participation rates for women with children, even preschoolage children, have increased dramatically since 1950. Again, only 12 percent of married women with young children were in the labor force in 1950 but 30 years later that figure had risen to 45 percent, and 62 percent of wives with schoolage children were in the labor force by 1980.

Women have less work experience in their current occupations and concentrate in different jobs and within different industrial sectors

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than men. Table 2 shows the distribution of women across the 13 major occupational groups. Women were concentrated in clerical and service occupations. They constituted 44 percent of all the workers in March 1980, but 81 percent of clerical and 61 percent of other service occupations. They were less well represented in managerial and blue-collar occupations.

Changes in education and labor force participation have been more dramatic than in earnings. Workingwomen do not earn as much as workingmen. Common explanations are that women enter and leave the labor force more frequently than men, resulting in less work experience. Women's skills, education, and training are not equal to those of men, and women and men are concentrated in different occupations with different rates of pay.

Some researchers argue that the earnings difference may arise partly from sex discrimination, although data collected by the Census Bureau can neither prove nor disprove this assertion.

Income trends differ by sex and race, as shown in figure 4. In 1980, the median income for white women who worked full time, year round was about $12,000 compared with about $20,000 for white men. White women's income was thus approximately 59 percent of white men's average income in 1980. The income ratio for white men and women has not changed since 1955. By contrast, income for black men and women has converged over time. In 1955, black women had an income 55 percent of that of black men, whereas, by 1980, this ratio had increased to 74 percent. By 1980, the difference between black and white women's median income had virtually disappeared.

Table 3 shows median earnings of men and women by broad occupational groupings. In occupations that are traditionally female, such as clerical, men's earnings have been consistently higher than women's earnings since 1960.

Many of the changes we have discussed have implications for the population in poverty.

A majority of adult women jointly maintain a household with a husband, making the economic role of wives important to the financial status of a large share of families. During the past two decades the percentage of family earnings contributed by the wife has increased from 12 to 18 percent among whites and from 17 to 28 percent among blacks. Since 1959, real per capita income has increased in all types of households, but increases have been much more substantial in husband-wife households than in households maintained by women, partially because husband-wife households are increasingly likely to have two full-time wage earners.

Income has increased in families maintained by women and the proportion of these families in poverty has declined. However, poverty rates in households maintained by women are higher than for husband-wife households and an increasing share of the poverty population lives in female-maintained households.

Table 4 illustrates the changing composition of the poverty population according to the official measures. These income data are confined to money income; they do not include in-kind transfer income such as food stamps, medicaid, or housing subsidies. Taking into account these noncash sources of income would lower the measured level of

poverty and alter somewhat the trends we are discussing, since blacks and families maintained by women have a higher than average participation rate in noncash benefit programs.

Nonetheless, the figures show that among whites the proportion of the poverty population living in families maintained by women increased from 15 to 26 percent during the past two decades. Concurrently, the poor accounted for by women living alone or with nonrelatives, rose from 10 to 17 percent. Data for blacks are even more striking: 59 percent of the black poverty population lived in families maintained by women in 1980.

Women supporting families generally face two serious economic problems: First, women earn less than men, so they frequently have lower earnings for supporting a family, and second, mothers raising children by themselves frequently receive either no support from the absent father, or less than their entitled amount. About 4 million were supposed to receive child support in 1981. Only 2.9 million actually received support from their ex-spouse, and only 1.9 million received the full amount they were due.

The most succinct summary of American women's changing lives in the past 30 years would be that fertility is lower and labor force participation is higher. That statement reflects the major differences between 1950 and 1980, yet there are other important changes that have not been as visible.

For example, women are marrying later now than they did 30 years ago, and thus have more time to attend school or gain work experience prior to marriage.

While the poverty rate in female-maintained families declined, the proportion of the poverty population living in households maintained by women has increased as real income gains in these households have lagged behind those for husband-wife families.

Since 1950, relatively more women are completing college and higher degrees, but they are still choosing to major in traditionally female fields. Labor force participation rates are much higher than in the past, but women are still concentrated in particular occupations.

And, finally the average income of women in relation to men has not risen over the past 30 years, although there are signs of improvement among the youngest, best-educated cohorts of women, and among black women, whose income is now similar to that of white women.

This brings to a conclusion my prepared remarks. We again appreciate the opportunity to bring the Census Bureau's information before the committee, and my colleagues and I will be pleased to answer any questions, if you have them, Representative Snowe.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kincannon, together with the tables and figures referred to, follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF C. LEWIS KINCANNON

MADAM CHAIRWOMAN, THANK YOU FOR GIVING THE CENSUS BUREAU THE OPPORTUNITY TO TESTIFY BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE ABOUT THE RECENT REPORT ON CHANGES IN THE LIVES OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

THE RECENT CENSUS BUREAU REPORT, "AMERICAN WOMEN: THREE DECADES OF CHANGE," BY SUZANNE BIANCHI AND DAPHNE SPAIN (WHO ARE HERE WITH ME TODAY) IS AN OVERVIEW OF THE MAJOR STATISTICAL TRENDS FOR WOMEN. THIS BRIEF SUMMARY LAYS THE GROUNDWORK FOR A LONGER 1980 CENSUS MONOGRAPH ON WOMEN WHICH THEY ARE CURRENTLY WRITING.

THE MAJOR FINDINGS OF THIS REPORT ARE THAT THE MAJORITY OF WOMEN STILL GET MARRIED AND HAVE CHILDREN, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE MARRYING LATER AND HAVING FEWER CHILDREN. MORE WOMEN ARE DIVORCING NOW THAN IN 1950, AND MORE ARE MAINTAINING THEIR OWN HOUSEHOLDS. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT HAS IMPROVED CONSIDERABLY OVER TIME, AND WITH THOSE IMPROVEMENTS HAVE COME INCREASED WORK OPPORTUNITIES OUTSIDE THE HOME. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES ROSE FROM ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF ALL WOMEN IN 1950 TO JUST OVER ONE-HALF IN 1980. THE LARGEST INCREASES HAVE OCCURRED AMONG WOMEN WITH PRESCHOOL CHILDREN. WOMEN ARE CONCENTRATED IN PARTICULAR OCCUPATIONS; AN INCOME DIFFERENCE PERSISTS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN; AND THE PROPORTION OF THE POVERTY POPULATION LIVING IN FAMILIES MAINTAINED BY WOMEN HAS INCREASED OVER THE PAST THIRTY YEARS. (NOTE: ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN THE POVERTY POPULATION IS BASED ON MONEY INCOME AND DOES NOT INCLUDE IN-KIND TRANSFER INCOME SUCH AS FOOD STAMPS, MEDICAID, OR HOUSING SUBSIDIES.)

Now let us look at each of these findings in more detail.

Beginning with MARITAL STATUS, as of 1980, over 90 percent of women and 85 percent of men over the age of 30 had been married at least once.

There have been important changes in the timing and duration of marriage in recent decades. Especially important is the delay in first marriage. Women are now marrying almost 2 years later, on average, than they did right after the Second World War.

Between 1950 and 1980, the average age at first marriage increased from 20.3 to 22.1 years. The proportion of women aged 20 to 24 who had never married rose from approximately one-fourth in 1950 to 45 percent in 1980.

The 1970's were the first time in American history that more marriages ended every year in divorce than in the death of a partner. If current divorce rates persist into the future, then Census projections are that almost one-half of all marriages that occurred in the early 1970's will end in divorce.

The proportion of women who reported themselves currently divorced rose from 2.4 percent in 1950 to 5.6 percent in 1980. Proportions divorced are highest for women in their thirties and early forties.

SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES HAVE ALSO OCCURRED IN CHILDBEARING PATTERNS.

THE MAJORITY OF AMERICAN WOMEN ARE MOTHERS BY THE AGE OF 45. IN 1980, ONLY ABOUT 6 PERCENT OF ALL EVER-MARRIED WOMEN AGED 40 TO 44 REMAINED CHILDLESS, BUT THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE TIMING OF BIRTHS. THE PROPORTION OF EVER-MARRIED WOMEN IN THEIR TWENTIES WHO HAVE NOT HAD A CHILD ROSE DRAMATICALLY BETWEEN 1960 AND 1980, AS SHOWN IN TABLE 1. DURING THE 1970'S, A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF WOMEN DELAYED CHILDBEARING UNTIL AFTER AGE 30.

FAMILIES HAVE BECOME SMALLER IN THE LAST 20 YEARS AND CURRENT BIRTH EXPECTATIONS OF AMERICAN WOMEN REMAIN LOW BY PAST STANDARDS. THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EXPECTED PER WOMAN AGED 18 TO 24 YEARS OLD WAS 3 IN 1950 BUT UNDER 2 IN 1980.

AS OVERALL FERTILITY HAS FALLEN, FERTILITY OUTSIDE OF MARRIAGE HAS DOUBLED OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS. DIFFERENCES IN BIRTH RATES FOR SINGLE WOMEN ARE PARTICULARLY PRONOUNCED BY RACE. IN 1980, ABOUT 55 PERCENT OF BIRTHS TO BLACK WOMEN OCCURRED OUTSIDE MARRIAGE, COMPARED WITH 10 PERCENT OF BIRTHS TO WHITE WOMEN.

WORKING WOMEN HAVE FEWER CHILDREN AND EXPECT FEWER CHILDREN THAN WOMEN WHO DO NOT WORK. FOR EXAMPLE, IN 1981, YOUNG EMPLOYED WOMEN EXPECTED 1.9 CHILDREN AND 14 PERCENT EXPECTED TO REMAIN CHILDLESS. WOMEN NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE EXPECTED 2.3 CHILDREN, AND ONLY 6 PERCENT EXPECTED TO REMAIN CHILDLESS.

AS A RESULT OF THESE TRENDS IN MARITAL STATUS AND CHILD-BEARING PATTERNS, HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY LIVING ARRANGEMENTS HAVE ALSO CHANGED.

AS SHOWN IN FIGURE 1, WITHIN EACH AGE GROUP AND AMONG ALL MARITAL STATUSES, THE PROPORTION OF WOMEN WHO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN HOUSEHOLDS HAS INCREASED SINCE 1950. IN SOME CASES THE INCREASE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY DRAMATIC, SUCH AS FOR YOUNG SINGLE WOMEN, 54 PERCENT OF WHOM MAINTAINED THEIR OWN HOUSE-HOLDS IN 1980, COMPARED WITH 12 PERCENT IN 1950. FOR EACH AGE AND MARITAL STATUS GROUP, THE CHANGE HAS BEEN AT LEAST 20 PERCENTAGE POINTS.

AMONG YOUNGER WOMEN, THE INCREASE HAS COME ABOUT BOTH BECAUSE OF LATER MARRIAGE AND HIGHER RATES OF DIVORCE, AND BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE PROPORTION WHO FORM THEIR OWN HOUSEHOLDS RATHER THAN LIVE IN THE HOME OF ANOTHER ADULT. AT OLDER AGES, A MUCH HIGHER PROPORTION OF WIDOWED WOMEN LIVE ALONE NOW THAN IN 1950.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE PROPORTION OF FAMILIES MAINTAINED BY A WOMAN ARE STRIKING AND HAVE WIDENED IN RECENT DECADES. BLACK WOMEN ARE MUCH MORE LIKELY THAN WHITE WOMEN TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN FAMILIES. IN 1980, 40 PERCENT OF BLACK FAMILIES WERE MAINTAINED BY A WOMAN, COMPARED WITH 12 PERCENT OF WHITE FAMILIES, AND BLACK CHILDREN UNDER 18 WERE SLIGHTLY MORE LIKELY TO BE LIVING WITH THEIR MOTHER (44 PERCENT) THAN [redacted] WITH BOTH PARENTS (42 PERCENT).

AS WOMEN MARRY LATER AND DELAY HAVING CHILDREN, THEIR COLLEGE ENROLLMENT AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT HAS RISEN.

HISTORICALLY, WOMEN HAVE HAD LOWER COLLEGE ENROLLMENT RATES THAN MEN, BUT THERE HAS BEEN A SUBSTANTIAL NARROWING OF THE DIFFERENCE DURING THE PAST 30 YEARS.

WOMEN'S COLLEGE ENROLLMENT RATES ARE NOW SIMILAR TO MEN'S. WOMEN ARE ALSO EDGING CLOSER TO MALES IN THE ATTAINMENT OF HIGHER DEGREES, BUT THE CONTENT OF THEIR POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION REMAINS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF MEN. A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN THAN MEN MAJOR IN EDUCATION, THE HUMANITIES, AND THE HEALTH SCIENCES, AND RELATIVELY FEWER WOMEN MAJOR IN THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING. THESE DIFFERENCES NARROWED SOMEWHAT BETWEEN 1966 AND 1982, ESPECIALLY AS MORE WOMEN BEGAN TO MAJOR IN BUSINESS AND FEWER MAJORED IN EDUCATION.

ALMOST HALF OF THE BACHELORS' AND MASTERS' DEGREES AWARDED IN 1979-80 WENT TO WOMEN, COMPARED TO 42 PERCENT A DECADE EARLIER. DURING THE 1970'S, THERE WAS A LARGE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF WOMEN RECEIVING DOCTORAL DEGREES: BY 1980, APPROXIMATELY 30 PERCENT OF DEGREES AT THIS LEVEL WERE EARNED BY WOMEN, COMPARED WITH 13 PERCENT TEN YEARS BEFORE. CURRENTLY, A FIFTH OF ALL LAW DEGREES ARE EARNED BY WOMEN, A SIZABLE INCREASE FROM THE EARLIER 5 PERCENT LEVEL. ALMOST 20 PERCENT OF MEDICAL DEGREES GO TO WOMEN, A DOUBLING FROM THE EARLIER PERIOD. CURRENTLY, ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF MEN AND 13 PERCENT OF WOMEN HAVE COMPLETED COLLEGE. AMONG YOUNGER PERSONS, THE CORRESPONDING PERCENTAGES WERE 28 FOR MEN AND 20 FOR WOMEN.

WHILE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR WOMEN HAS RISEN, THE INCREASE IN WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN MOST NOTICEABLE.

PERHAPS NO OTHER CHANGE HAS MORE FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIETY AND THE ECONOMY THAN THE DRAMATIC INCREASE IN THE NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF WORKING WOMEN. BETWEEN 1950 AND 1980, THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE INCREASED BY 148 PERCENT (FROM 18.4 TO 45.6 MILLION), WHILE THE NUMBER OF MEN IN THE LABOR FORCE INCREASED BY 41 PERCENT (FROM 45.4 TO 63.4 MILLION). MEN'S PARTICIPATION RATES REMAIN HIGHER

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THAN THOSE FOR WOMEN AT EACH AGE, BUT WOMEN HAVE BEEN INCREASING THEIR RATE OF PARTICIPATION, AS MEN'S PARTICIPATION RATE HAS DECLINED, PARTICULARLY AT THE OLDER AGES. WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION RATES ROSE FROM 34 PERCENT IN 1950 TO 52 PERCENT IN 1980; MEN'S PARTICIPATION RATES FELL FROM 87 TO 78 PERCENT.

THE INCREASE IN FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION DURING THE 1950'S WAS DISPROPORTIONATELY ACCOUNTED FOR BY OLDER WOMEN WHO HAD COMPLETED THEIR CHILDBEARING AND MOST OF THEIR CHILDREARING ACTIVITIES. FIGURE 2 SHOWS A DIFFERENT PATTERN DURING THE 1960'S AND 1970'S WHEN PARTICIPATION RATES ROSE MOST RAPIDLY AMONG WOMEN AGED 20 TO 44, THE AGES WHEN CHILDREARING RESPONSIBILITIES ARE TYPICALLY GREATEST.

FIGURE 3, WHICH IS RESTRICTED TO MARRIED WOMEN, SHOWS THAT THE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FOR WOMEN WITH CHILDREN, EVEN PRE-SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN, HAVE INCREASED DRAMATICALLY SINCE 1950. IN 1950, ONLY 12 PERCENT OF MARRIED WOMEN WITH YOUNG CHILDREN WERE IN THE LABOR FORCE, BUT BY 1980, THAT FIGURE HAD RISEN TO 45 PERCENT. AND 62 PERCENT OF MOTHERS OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN WERE IN THE LABOR FORCE BY 1980.

WOMEN HAVE LESS WORK EXPERIENCE IN THEIR CURRENT OCCUPATIONS AND CONCENTRATE IN DIFFERENT JOBS AND WITHIN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIAL SECTORS THAN MEN. TABLE 2 SHOWS TRENDS

IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN ACROSS THE 13 MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS.

IN 1980, WOMEN WERE CONCENTRATED IN CLERICAL AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS. WOMEN CONSTITUTED 44 PERCENT OF ALL WORKERS IN MARCH 1980, BUT FILLED 81 PERCENT OF CLERICAL AND 61 PERCENT OF OTHER SERVICE OCCUPATIONS. THEY WERE LESS WELL REPRESENTED IN MANAGERIAL AND BLUE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS.

CHANGES IN EDUCATION AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION HAVE BEEN MORE DRAMATIC THAN CHANGES IN EARNINGS.

WORKING WOMEN DO NOT EARN AS MUCH AS WORKING MEN. COMMON EXPLANATIONS ARE THAT WOMEN ENTER AND LEAVE THE LABOR FORCE MORE FREQUENTLY THAN MEN, RESULTING IN LESS WORK EXPERIENCE; WOMEN'S SKILLS, EDUCATION, AND TRAINING ARE NOT EQUAL TO THOSE OF MEN; AND WOMEN AND MEN ARE CONCENTRATED IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS THAT PAY DIFFERENTLY. SOME RESEARCHERS ARGUE THAT THE EARNINGS DIFFERENCE MAY ARISE PARTLY FROM SEX DISCRIMINATION, ALTHOUGH DATA COLLECTED BY THE CENSUS BUREAU CAN NEITHER PROVE NOR DISPROVE THIS ASSERTION.

INCOME TRENDS DIFFER BY SEX AND RACE AS SHOWN IN FIGURE 4. IN 1980, THE MEDIAN INCOME FOR WHITE WOMEN WHO WORKED FULL-TIME, YEAR-ROUND WAS ABOUT $12,000 COMPARED WITH ABOUT $20,000 FOR WHITE MEN. WHITE WOMEN'S INCOME WAS THUS APPROXIMATELY 59 PERCENT OF WHITE MEN'S AVERAGE INCOME IN 1980. THE INCOME RATIO FOR WHITE MEN AND WOMEN HAS NOT CHANGED SINCE 1955. BY CONTRAST, INCOME FOR BLACK MEN AND WOMEN HAS CONVERGED OVER TIME. IN 1955, BLACK WOMEN HAD INCOME 55 PERCENT THAT OF BLACK MEN, WHEREAS BY 1980 THIS RATIO HAD INCREASED TO 74 PERCENT. BY 1980, THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN'S MEDIAN INCOME HAD VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED.

TABLE 3 SHOWS MEDIAN EARNINGS OF MEN AND WOMEN BY BROAD OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS. IN OCCUPATIONS THAT ARE TRADITIONALLY FEMALE, SUCH AS CLERICAL, MEN'S EARNINGS HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY HIGHER THAN WOMEN'S EARNINGS SINCE 1960.

MANY OF THE CHANGES WE HAVE DISCUSSED HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE POPULATION IN POVERTY.

A MAJORITY OF ADULT WOMEN JOINTLY MAINTAIN A HOUSEHOLD WITH A HUSBAND, MAKING THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WIVES IMPORTANT TO THE FINANCIAL STATUS OF A LARGE SHARE OF FAMILIES. DURING THE PAST TWO DECADES, THE PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY EARNINGS CONTRIBUTED BY THE WIFE HAS INCREASED FROM 12 TO 18 PERCENT AMONG WHITES AND FROM 17 TO 28 PERCENT AMONG BLACKS. SINCE 1959, REAL PER CAPITA INCOME HAS INCREASED IN ALL TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS, BUT INCREASES HAVE BEEN MUCH MORE SUBSTANTIAL IN HUSBAND-WIFE HOUSEHOLDS THAN IN HOUSEHOLDS MAINTAINED BY WOMEN, PARTIALLY BECAUSE HUSBAND-WIFE HOUSEHOLDS ARE INCREASINGLY LIKELY TO HAVE TWO FULL-TIME WAGE EARNERS.

INCOME HAS INCREASED IN FAMILIES MAINTAINED BY WOMEN, AND THE PROPORTION OF THESE FAMILIES IN POVERTY HAS DECLINED. HOWEVER, POVERTY RATES IN HOUSEHOLDS MAINTAINED BY WOMEN ARE HIGHER THAN FOR HUSBAND-WIFE HOUSEHOLDS AND AN INCREASING SHARE OF THE POVERTY POPULATION LIVES IN FEMALE-MAINTAINED HOUSEHOLDS.

TABLE 4 ILLUSTRATES THE CHANGING COMPOSITION OF THE POVERTY POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL MEASURES. THESE INCOME DATA ARE CONFINED TO MONEY INCOME; THEY DO NOT INCLUDE IN-KIND TRANSFER INCOME SUCH AS FOOD STAMPS, MEDICAID, OR HOUSING SUBSIDIES. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THESE NONCASH SOURCES OF INCOME WOULD LOWER THE MEASURED LEVEL

OF POVERTY AND ALTER SOMEWHAT THE TRENDS WE ARE DISCUSSING, SINCE BLACKS AND FAMILIES MAINTAINED BY WOMEN HAVE A HIGHER THAN AVERAGE PARTICIPATION RATE IN NONCASH BENEFIT PROGRAMS.

AMONG WHITES, THE PROPORTION OF THE POVERTY POPULATION LIVING IN FAMILIES MAINTAINED BY WOMEN INCREASED FROM 15 TO 26 PERCENT DURING THE PAST TWO DECADES. CONCURRENTLY, THE POOR ACCOUNTED FOR BY [redacted] WOMEN LIVING ALONE (OR WITH NONRELATIVES) ROSE FROM 10 TO 17 PERCENT. DATA FOR BLACKS ARE EVEN MORE STRIKING: 59 PERCENT OF THE BLACK POVERTY POPULATION LIVED IN FAMILIES MAINTAINED BY WOMEN IN 1980.

WOMEN SUPPORTING FAMILIES GENERALLY FACE TWO SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: FIRST, WOMEN EARN LESS THAN MEN, SO THEY FREQUENTLY HAVE LOWER EARNINGS FOR SUPPORTING A FAMILY, AND SECOND, MOTHERS RAISING CHILDREN BY THEMSELVES FREQUENTLY RECEIVE EITHER NO SUPPORT FROM THE ABSENT FATHER, OR LESS THAN THEIR ENTITLED AMOUNT. ABOUT 4 MILLION WOMEN WERE SUPPOSED TO RECEIVE CHILD SUPPORT IN 1981. ONLY 2.9 MILLION ACTUALLY RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM THEIR EX-SPOUSE, AND ONLY 1.9 MILLION RECEIVED THE FULL AMOUNT THEY WERE DUE.

IN CONCLUSION,

THE MOST SUCCINCT SUMMARY OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S CHANGING LIVES IN THE PAST 30 YEARS WOULD BE THAT FERTILITY IS LOWER AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION IS HIGHER. THAT STATEMENT REFLECTS THE MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN 1950 AND 1980, YET THERE ARE OTHER IMPORTANT CHANGES THAT HAVE NOT BEEN AS VISIBLE.

FOR EXAMPLE, WOMEN ARE MARRYING LATER NOW THAN THEY DID 30 YEARS AGO, AND THUS HAVE MORE TIME TO ATTEND SCHOOL OR GAIN WORK EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO MARRIAGE.

WHILE THE POVERTY RATE IN FEMALE-MAINTAINED FAMILIES DECLINED, THE PROPORTION OF THE POVERTY POPULATION LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS MAINTAINED BY WOMEN HAS INCREASED AS REAL INCOME GAINS IN THESE HOUSEHOLDS HAVE LAGGED BEHIND THOSE FOR HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES.

SINCE 1950, RELATIVELY MORE WOMEN ARE COMPLETING COLLEGE AND HIGHER DEGREES, BUT THEY ARE STILL CHOOSING TO MAJOR IN TRADITIONALLY FEMALE FIELDS. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES ARE MUCH HIGHER THAN IN THE PAST, BUT WOMEN ARE STILL CONCENTRATED IN PARTICULAR OCCUPATIONS. AND, FINALLY, THE AVERAGE INCOME OF WOMEN IN RELATION TO MEN HAS NOT RISEN OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT AMONG THE YOUNGEST, BEST EDUCATED COHORTS OF WOMEN, AND AMONG BLACK WOMEN WHOSE INCOME IS NOW SIMILAR TO THAT OF WHITE WOMEN.

Table 1. Childless Women as a Percent of Ever-Married Women, by Age: 1950 to 1980

Age	1950	1960	1970	1980
Total, 15-44	22.8	15.0	16.4	18.8
15-19	52.8	43.6	50.9	49.3
20-24	33.3	24.2	35.7	40.5
25-29	21.1	12.6	15.8	25.5
30-34	17.3	10.4	8.3	13.6
35-39	19.1	11.1	7.3	7.7
40-44	20.0	14.1	8.6	6.4

Note: Data for 1950, 1960, and 1970 are based on the decennial census. Data for 1980 represent an average computed from data collected in the 1979, 1980, and 1981 June fertility supplement to the Current Population Survey.

Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

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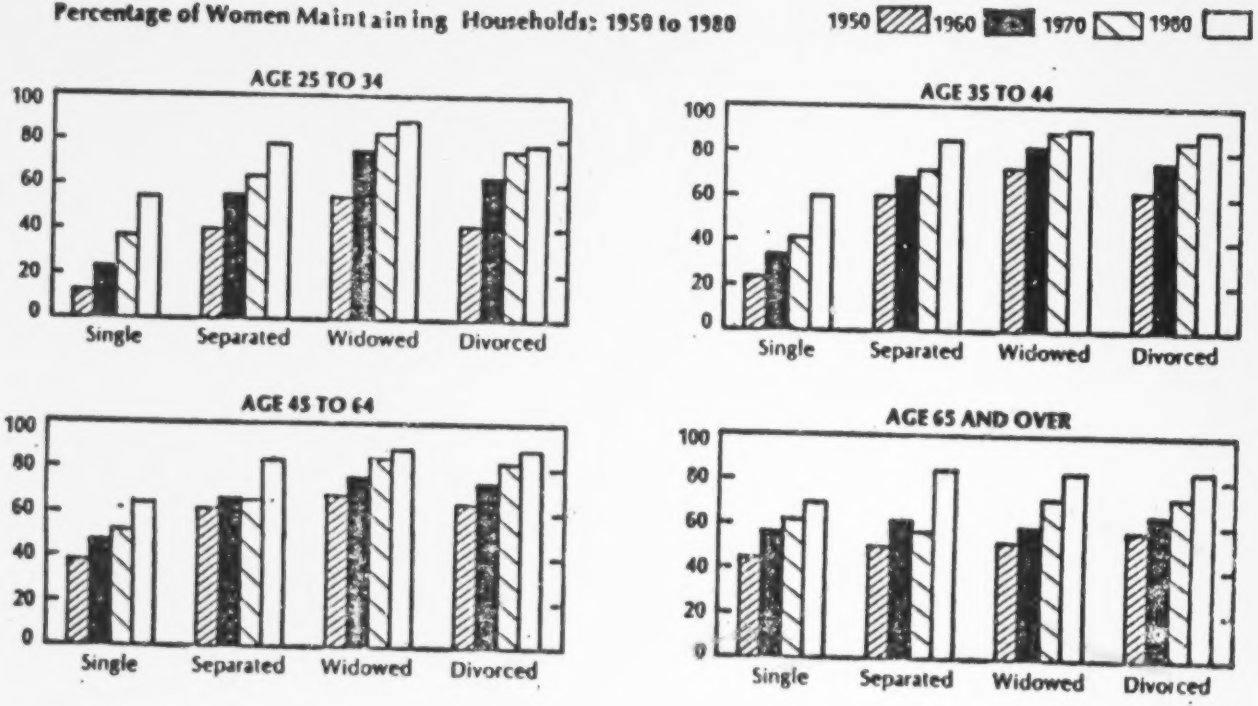
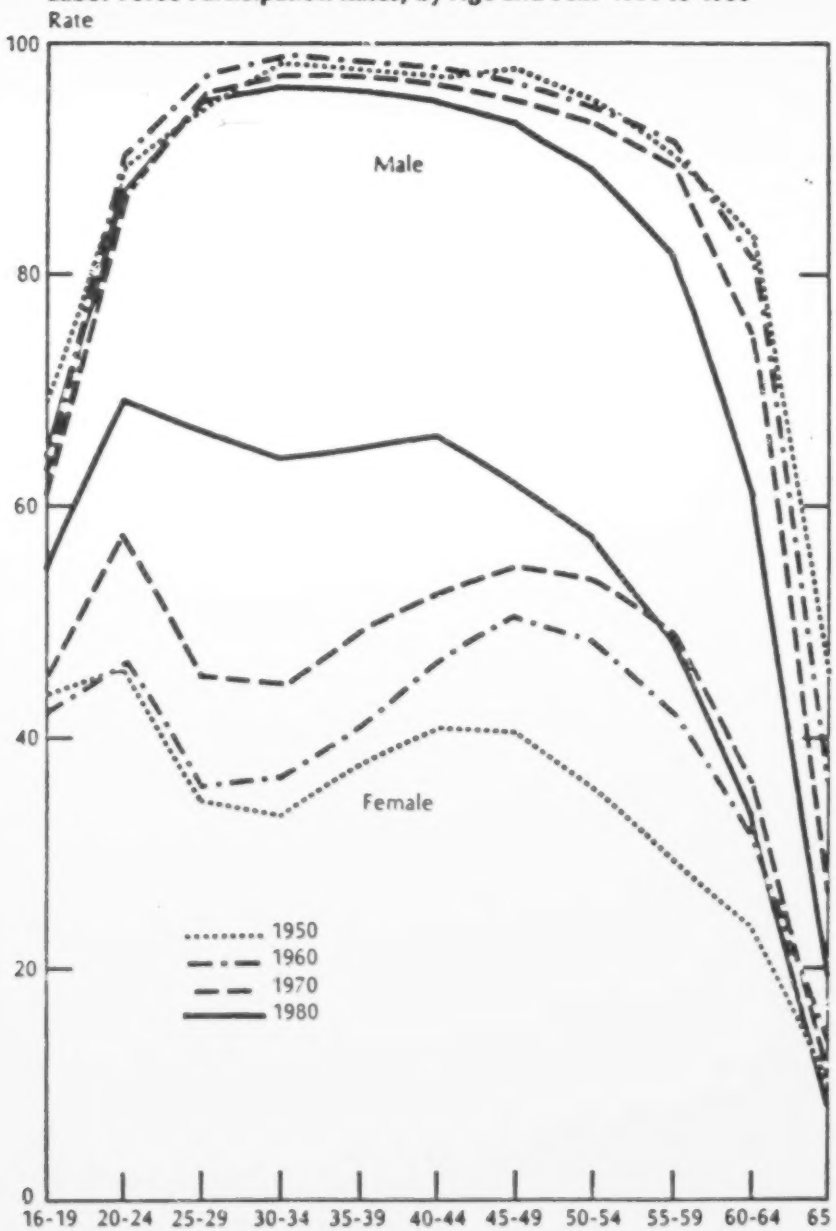
Figure 1.
Percentage of Women Maintaining Households: 1950 to 1980



Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Figure 2.
Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex: 1950 to 1980



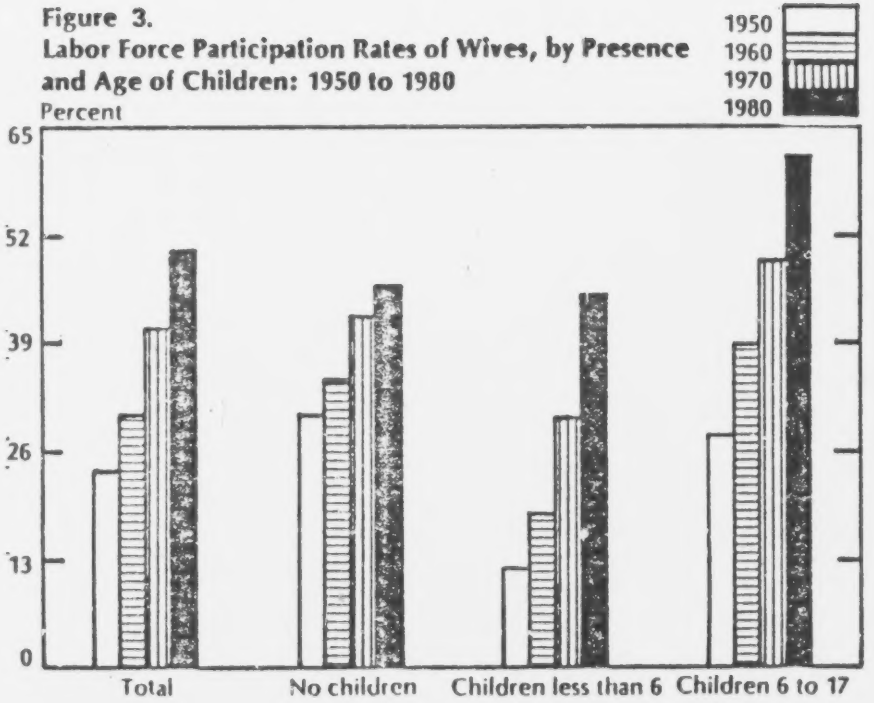
Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Table 2. Distribution of Female Civilian Labor Force and Percent Female, by Occupation: 1950 to 1980

Occupation	1950	1960	1970	1980
TOTAL WOMEN	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar workers	52.5	56.3	61.3	63.5
Professional	12.2	13.3	15.5	15.9
Managers	4.3	3.8	3.6	6.8
Clerical	27.4	30.9	34.8	33.8
Sales	8.6	8.3	7.4	7.0
Blue-collar workers	43.9	41.8	37.9	35.5
Crafts	1.5	1.3	1.8	1.8
Operatives	20.0	17.2	14.8	10.7
Laborers	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.3
Private household	8.9	8.4	3.9	3.0
Other services	12.6	14.4	16.3	18.8
Farm workers	3.7	1.9	0.8	1.0
Managers	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.3
Laborers	2.9	1.3	0.6	0.7
	PERCENT FEMALE			
TOTAL WORKERS	27.9	32.8	38.0	44.2
White-collar workers	39.9	43.4	48.3	55.4
Professional	39.5	38.1	39.9	46.2
Managers	13.7	14.5	16.6	28.2
Clerical	62.3	67.6	73.6	81.0
Sales	34.3	36.7	38.6	49.0
Blue-collar workers	23.7	26.5	29.9	33.7
Crafts	3.0	2.9	5.0	6.3
Operatives	27.3	28.1	31.5	33.6
Laborers	3.7	3.5	8.4	11.2
Private household	94.8	96.4	96.5	97.2
Other services	44.7	52.4	55.0	60.8
Farm workers	8.6	9.5	9.5	16.6
Managers	2.7	4.8	4.7	9.7
Laborers	18.7	17.3	16.0	22.7

Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

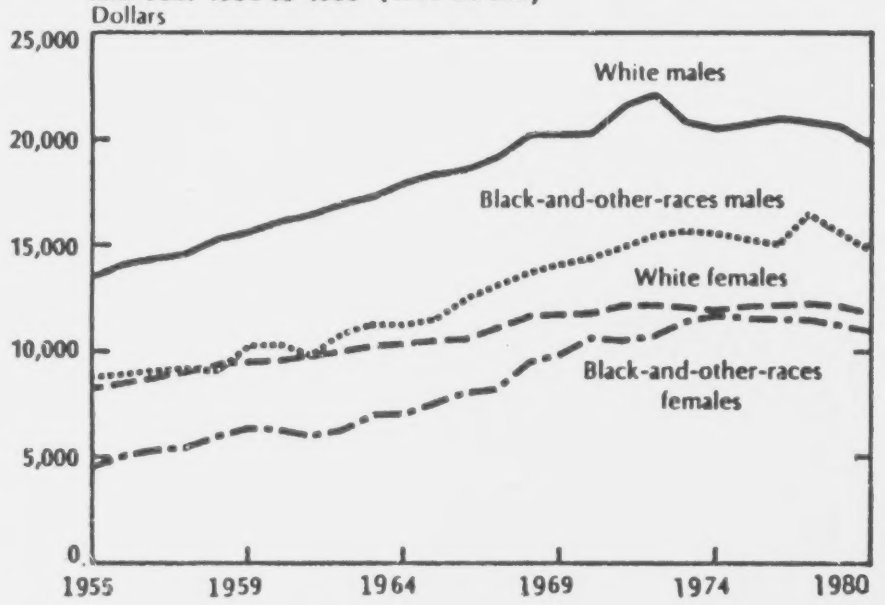
Figure 3.
Labor Force Participation Rates of Wives, by Presence and Age of Children: 1950 to 1980



Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office.

Figure 4.

Median Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers, by Race and Sex: 1955 to 1980 (1980 dollars)



Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Table 3. Median Money Wage and Salary Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Nonagricultural Workers, by Sex and Major Occupation Group: 1960 to 1980

Sex and occupation	1960	1970	1980
FEMALE			
Professional	$12,192	$16,717	$15,285
Managers	11,605	14,502	12,936
Clerical	9,973	11,779	10,997
Sales	6,752	8,887	9,748
Crafts	---	10,799	11,701
Operatives	8,260	9,570	9,440
Laborers	---	---	9,747
Private household	3,151	4,458	4,562
Other services	6,724	8,388	7,982
MALE			
Professional	$19,044	$25,052	$23,026
Managers	20,137	25,712	23,558
Clerical	14,592	18,285	18,247
Sales	16,005	20,774	19,910
Crafts	16,319	19,637	18,671
Operatives	13,841	16,176	15,702
Laborers	10,768	13,927	12,757
Private household	---	---	---
Other services	11,372	14,758	13,097
RATIO (FEMALE/MALE)			
Professional	.64	.67	.66
Managers	.58	.56	.55
Clerical	.68	.64	.60
Sales	.49	.43	.42
Crafts	---	.55	.63
Operatives	.60	.59	.60
Laborers	---	---	.76
Private household	---	---	---
Other services	.59	.57	.61

Note: Income inflated to 1980 dollars using Consumer Price Index. No income figures for occupations with small samples.

Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Table 4. Changing Composition of the Poverty Population: 1959, 1970, and 1980

Race and type of family	1959	1970	1980
WHITES			
Total persons in poverty:			
Number	28,484	17,484	19,347
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Husband-wife families	71.0	54.7	49.9
Female-maintained families	14.8	21.5	25.5
Males not in families	4.1	6.2	7.6
Females not in families	10.1	17.6	17.0
BLACKS			
Total persons in poverty:			
Number	9,927	7,548	8,504
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Husband-wife families	67.4	40.1	25.9
Female-maintained families	24.4	48.4	58.6
Males not in families	3.3	4.0	6.6
Females not in families	4.9	7.4	8.9

Source: S. Bianchi and D. Spain, 1983. American Women: Three Decades of Change. Special Demographic Analyses, CDS-80-8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Representative SNOWE. Thank you, Mr. Kincannon, for your testimony, and we do have with us the coauthors of the Census Bureau report, Ms. Bianchi and Ms. Spain. We welcome you as well, and we would welcome your comments on some of the questions I might ask you, and you can choose among you as to who will answer those questions.

The first question I would like to ask, based on your testimony, is what types of data does the Census Bureau use for these studies?

Mr. KINCANNON. Well, the report depends primarily on decennial census information collected at 10-year intervals and on data from the Current Population Survey which is conducted monthly from about 60,000 households.

There may be other sources that my colleagues would like to mention that were incorporated in the study.

Ms. BIANCHI. We actually review in the study some other data that are collected. For instance, numbers from the National Center for Health Statistics and some of the data on the labor force that are analyzed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but primarily we do concentrate on the two sources mentioned by Mr. Kincannon.

Representative SNOWE. Why do you use 1950 as a starting date to compare women in terms of entering the work force? That seems to be the magic year. Is there any reason for that?

Ms. BIANCHI. One reason is Current Population Survey data, which is our best source of labor force information. The survey started up after the war. So, late 1940's, early 1950's is the first time you start to get reliable information on labor force participation rates.

Mr. KINCANNON. It is consistent, a reasonably consistent data series, starting about 1947, with the Current Population Survey, and there simply were no consistent series that could be used in the analysis aside from that.

Ms. SPAIN. And, also, we may add, from the standpoint of social change in that period, 1950 was the beginning of the baby boom generation; we have seen changes in fertility, and we were trying to tap into pre- and post-baby boom changes and show how that has affected women's lives.

Representative SNOWE. I notice that the Census Bureau report indicated, I think, or underscored a number of problems that women are facing, primarily that a wage gap still exists between men and women.

Based on your report, can you account for that differential and list the factors that contribute to that wage gap, perhaps in the order of importance?

Mr. KINCANNON. Well, we can certainly account for some major factors in the wage gap. For example, the different occupational distribution is an important contributor to that. The concentration of women in what have been traditionally female occupations—teaching, nursing—makes for a different income distribution than men who have concentrated in more highly paying occupations.

But even if you control for that factor, which is possibly statistically to do, at least in a crude sense, there remain differences.

The fact that women have had an increasing labor force participation rate tells us that on the average there is going to be somewhat less job experience than with men, and the amount of job experience that contributes to differences in earnings, in whatever sense.

In addition, there is another factor, and that is interruptions in the careers of women. They take time out sometimes for bearing children, and that reduces the amount of experience they have on the job.

I do not know whether we have the data with us on the relative importance of these, whether you can add some additional causes to that or not.

Ms. BIANCHI. I think we do not have data with us on the relative importance. I think that the two panelists after us will be elaborating on that issue from their research. Some of the best research on this has been done with longitudinal data sets other than those collected by the Bureau. Those tend to be better at assessing what has happened over time in women's lives—experiences, interruptions, and that sort of thing.

Mr. KINCANNON. I might add, too, that even when we try our best on such a category as occupation, operating in terms of general statistics collected from the population at large obscures many differences.

For example, one of our favorite occupation groups is statisticians, and even when we refine classifications of people working as statisticians to that extent that covers a very wide range of duties, responsibilities, even within the Census Bureau. So that it is very hard to cut those data finely enough to account for every factor.

Representative SNOWE. From your data that you have collected, you talk about earnings in occupations. When men enter female-dominated professions such as nursing or teaching, do the overall earnings for both men and women rise?

I notice from some of the statistics that have been offered, for example, that even in traditionally female occupations men earn more than women in those occupations. But if more men entered those occupations, does that bring the level of salaries up for both men and women or just for men?

Mr. KINCANNON. Economics would tell us it should. Do we have data, Ms. Bianchi, that would disclose that?

Ms. BIANCHI. I do not know the answer to that question. It is an interesting one, but I do not have the data.

Representative SNOWE. Also, the Census Bureau dropped alimony and child support, I guess in 1920, in terms of the information that you use in determining the types of income that women have.

Do you have any intentions of reinstating that type of income?

Mr. KINCANNON. We do continue to collect those data in the Current Population Survey, in the March supplement, and they will be covered in greater detail in the Survey of Income and Program Participation, which is a new survey that we began collecting data on just last month and should have first results beginning late next summer. We do continue to collect it.

Representative SNOWE. You do still use it then?

Mr. KINCANNON. Yes.

Representative SNOWE. According to the report, 9 out of 10 not working say they do not want a job, and three-fourths of these said home responsibilities are their major reason for not working outside the home.

I read that one out of every five women is unemployed because they cannot find satisfactory child care.

Does the Census Bureau have any information to confirm or dispute that figure?

Mr. KINCANNON. Most of that information I think would come from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. We have done some work on child care arrangements, and I do not know—do we have information at hand?

We can certainly supply information that we have on that.

Representative SNOWE. But you do not have any available at this time?

Mr. KINCANNON. No.

Representative SNOWE. How does the Census Bureau determine a head of household if a husband and wife is identified as a family household? Does the Census Bureau go further and identify one as the head of household?

Mr. KINCANNON. No; we have learned better than to do that. We have ceased identifying someone as head of household. We identify a reference person for purposes of tabulating the results.

So we identify the household by its characteristics, whether there is a spouse present, whether there is a person of one sex or another present, and so on. But we no longer use in collecting or publishing data—I think I am correct in saying—the term or concept of household head.

Representative SNOWE. The Census Bureau report also notes that a tendency toward multigenerational households has not increased.

Was this ever a widespread living arrangement, or has nostalgia of the past just made it seem that way?

Mr. KINCANNON. I do not know whether we have evidence on that. I believe it was more than nostalgia of the past.

Ms. SPAIN. If we look at the table that shows the proportion of widowed women maintaining their own households, for example, the change between 1950 and 1980 was from about 45 percent to over 80 percent in 1980.

So if we take, for example, that widowed women would be most likely to live with their children, perhaps half were doing so in the 1960's; around 20 percent would be doing so now if we take the obverse of those figures.

So there is something in the classic family of western nostalgia that makes us think there was more extended living in the past. Our figures maintain that women are more likely to maintain their own households than in the 1950's.

Representative SNOWE. Is there anything that is most startling to you in terms of the information you have and the trends that have been ascertained from the Census Bureau report?

Mr. KINCANNON. To me, clearly the most startling is the change in labor force participation.

Representative SNOWE. By women?

Mr. KINCANNON. Yes; that is extremely dramatic.

Ms. BIANCHI. I would say particularly on the part of women with children that those are the rates that are really increasing dramatically in the last 10, 15 to 20 years.

Representative SNOWE. Have you found that women are participating in the labor force because of economic necessity?

Ms. SPAIN. Our report does not address that issue. Other studies suggest that that is the case, but we were looking strictly at labor force rates by presence of children and marital status.

Representative SNOWE. So you do not make that kind of determination?

Ms. SPAIN. No; we do not.

Mr. KINCANNON. That is hard to do. It would be hard to distinguish. We do not approach that directly. It would be hard to measure accurately if we did approach it directly. We do not deal with the question about whether they have entered the labor force because of increasing opportunity either.

Representative SNOWE. Have you noted from your report, or can you note from your report, the fact that a significant difference exists in the number of years it takes men and women to achieve the same promotion, given equal credentials and the same number of years work experience? Do you have any idea what causes this and, if so, what can be done to change that?

Mr. KINCANNON. We do not have very refined data on credentials. We have comparatively crude data on educational attainment. We can and have tabulated data based on that. But to have completed a certain number of years of school is a very crude measure of whether one has a degree from a particular school, and there is a wide variation in that regard.

Ms. BIANCHI. And perhaps more importantly, your question was about hiring and promotion practices. Our data are even more crude on work experience and job history. The census data and CPS data are not the best data to analyze those kinds of questions.

Mr. KINCANNON. They are not because they do not provide longitudinal data for the same person; that is, each time we take a survey like that it is essentially a snapshot of where that individual and that population group stands. We are not able to trace in those data 10 years of a career in a person's life, and in the absence of that sort of data, it is very difficult to make the comparison.

Representative SNOWE. In your report, I think you also indicated that 49 percent of women are employed in sales, but receive only 49 percent of men's salaries.

In your estimation, do women opt for retail sales because it provides for more flexibility in that occupation and a lot more time to spend on child care? Why do they not get into other fields that generate larger commissions, such as appliances or car sales, for example?

Mr. KINCANNON. We do not ask women or men why they do not take another kind of job. It is a very interesting object of investigation, but we do not ask those questions.

Representative SNOWE. Thank you very much. I appreciate your testimony this morning. Thank you.

Our second panel consists of economists, Ms. O'Neill and Ms. Bergmann, who will reflect on the changes that these demographic trends will have on women in the work force.

Ms. Bergmann, please begin.

STATEMENT OF BARBARA R. BERGMANN, PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Ms. BERGMANN. Thank you.

We live in an epoch of very dramatic changes in the way women and men lead their lives. Every year differences in the roles of the two genders are being reduced, both in the marketplace and within the family.

The changes that are occurring are at once economic and social and affect the most vital aspects of our lives—the work we do, the income we earn, our marriages, the parenting of our children.

Let me depart from my prepared statement to say that in addition to this economic and social change there is also political change. A very dramatic gender gap in voting has developed, and this gender gap gives feminists—and both men and women who are feminists, who believe in equality of all people, regardless of sex—this gender gap gives us the opportunity to assemble a serious list of needed reforms.

This testimony is an attempt really to do that, and I would say that ideally the two parties ought to be scrambling and competing to get together a serious agenda and to begin its enactment. So in that spirit, here is my version of that agenda.

I believe that vigorous governmental action is needed to reduce still virulent employment discrimination against women and also against blacks, to make the difficult and often desperate lot of the single parent easier, to reduce unemployment, and to facilitate and encourage fathers and mothers to share more equally the tasks of homemaking and the nurturing of children.

Now, my friends from the Census Bureau tell us they are agnostic on discrimination, and when you ask them what are the factors which keep this huge gap between men's and women's pay, they are very cautious and they do not mention discrimination. But I have no such inhibition, and I tell you, discrimination is still extremely important, and very little, really, has been done to fight it despite the fact that we have and have had for a long time excellent legislation on the books.

We heard mention of the concentration of women in low paying occupations. Well, women are not stupid. They do not flock to low paying occupations. They are excluded from high paying occupations, and very little has been done to enforce the law against that exclusion.

I would mention for, example, the Government's own employment. If you look at the air traffic controllers, they are all males. And we had an interesting story by this one woman air traffic controller, and she was harassed almost to death and the Government did nothing about it. And she has won a lawsuit on that.

But that is an example of the kinds of ways women are excluded from high-paying occupations, and that is an example within the Government's own employment where nothing is being done that I know of to improve the representation of women in that particular job and to enforce sanctions against people who make their lives miserable and impossible.

I would say on discrimination that, regrettably, the present administration has reduced almost to nothing the level of enforcement activity from the already pathetically low level we had in the previous administrations. I do not want to say let us go back to the situation

we had under Johnson, Nixon, Ford, or Carter. I think it is time we did better.

What we need in unemployment discrimination is a return to requiring affirmative action from employers, with more rigorous use of goals and timetables.

We need better allocation of effort on the part of the enforcement agencies so as to target large and influential employers.

We need debarment of Government contractors found discriminating and more activity to investigate whether or not they are discriminating.

We need enforcement for the agencies and, as I said, an effort to clean up employment discrimination by the Federal Establishment itself.

And, last, we need leadership in the realinement of wages so as to pay wages in the traditional female occupations which reflect the skill and responsibility they require.

I may add here that Australia is way ahead of us. They have undertaken realinement of wages. The Government has been a leader in this, and economic disaster has not occurred. What has occurred is that women now have better wages in Australia.

Turning to two items having to do with single parents, as the Census people testified, the number of single parents is increasing rapidly, and there are male single parents also. This is not just a women's issue. We ought to be doing more for the single parent.

It used to be that single parents were looked down or and I suppose they still are because of what you may call the origin of their single parenthood, a lot of out-of-wedlock births, divorces. But whatever their past sins, single parents are performing the socially necessary jobs of supervising and bringing up children under extremely adverse circumstances, difficult circumstances, and they and their children desperately need the help of society, and I would hope that both parties would be competing in ways to change the position of single parents and help them to become self-supporting and help them to enter the mainstream of American affluence.

It has been mentioned that single-parent families deserve and need child support payments regularly and in reasonable amounts from absent biological parents. The enforcement system for child support payments now in operation badly needs basic overhaul.

I believe that some of the legislation now before Congress is very helpful and certainly should be passed, but I do not think it meets the need for basic overhaul in this matter. I think we really need a Federal program for setting these child support levels administratively and enforcing them in the way that tax payments were enforced, and I think that you ought to be thinking in that direction as we move at first in a more cautious manner to make some reforms.

I want to say that research that I and my students are currently conducting on the relation of child support, work effort, and welfare shows that a system of child support enforcement which guaranteed that the payments would be received would enable us to reduce the welfare caseload by a substantial fraction.

Child support enforcement would do more than just replace welfare dollars because child support dollars, if the person knows they are going to get child support even if they work, that does not deter work;

whereas, welfare is taxed when the person works; that is, the welfare payment is reduced.

So there is a difference between welfare and child support to the person who receives it, and a vigorous enforcement of child support for people off welfare would keep them off welfare, and it would really make a very big dent in the whole welfare question.

I think this is something that ought to be brought to the attention of policymakers.

Another thing that single parents need is subsidized child care. The single parent performs singlehandedly functions that are difficult enough for parents in two-parent families.

We know how difficult it is to bring up children in two-parent families. The one-parent families are really in trouble, and they need to earn their income and they need to spend time on the myriad tasks that must be done to raise a child.

Whatever we may think of the issue of subsidized child care for all children—and here other countries such as France and Sweden are way ahead of us—it should be obvious that single parent families need a rapid and substantial expansion of help in this regard.

Let me turn now to the matter of unemployment. The increase in the number of workers due to the influx of women into the labor force and the possibly reduced demand for labor due to increasing automation suggests that we should be moving in the direction of a permanently reduced workweek and more part-time work.

Such a development would reduce unemployment and would improve the quality of family life, giving both fathers and mothers more time for homemaking activities and child nurturing.

It is really remarkable that the standard workweek has hardly declined at all since the end of World War II despite great increases in the level of productivity and real income, and in the past whenever we have had increases in productivity part of this has been taken out in a lower workday.

At the start of the industrial revolution, the workday was 18 hours a day, and then it got to 12, and so on. It has not been reduced recently, and I think it is an increasing question of why.

I believe that the failure of the workweek to decline has been due in considerable measure to the tax treatment of fringe benefits, particularly health insurance. In this connection—and I do not—I am not lavishing any praise on this administration. In fact, I once accused this administration of declaring war on women—but I think in this connection the administration's suggestions to make less favorable the tax treatment of some health insurance is a step in the right direction.

Also, amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide overtime pay after 35 or 37 hours should also be considered. This matter deserves very careful study.

In the same vein, Congress should pass legislation discouraging employers from treating part-time employees differently from full-time employees with regard to pay and benefits.

Ending the ability of employers to discriminate against part-time employees, currently most women, would increase the number of women and men—fathers and mothers—who would choose to work part time. Again, this would reduce employment and improve family life.

I think there are those of us who welcome the current trends in sex roles and those of us who are fearful of them. Whatever our attitude, we must recognize that these trends will continue into the foreseeable future. There is no legislature or government commission or administration policy that could possibly be effective in sending women back into full-time homemaking or in lessening the number of divorces.

I remember at the beginning of this administration they used the Family Protection Act, but I have not heard much from it. But in any case, that is not going to send women back into homemaking either. But there is much that Government can and should do to ease the transition into a world of gender equality.

Thank you.

Representative SNOWE. Thank you, Ms. Bergmann.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Bergmann follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BARBARA R. BERGMANN

We live in an epoch of dramatic changes in the way women and men lead their lives - every year the differences in the roles of the two genders are being reduced, both in the market place and within the family. The changes that are occurring are at once economic and social, and affect the most vital aspects of our lives - the work we do, the income we earn, our marriages, the parenting of our children. The numbers which the U.S. Bureau of the Census has drawn together in "American Women: Three Decades of Change" reveal substantial progress which we should celebrate, but they also show grave problems, some of them worsening.

Vigorous governmental action is needed to reduce still-virulent employment discrimination against women and blacks, to make the difficult and often desparate lot of the single parent easier, to reduce unemployment, and to facilitate and encourage fathers and mothers to share more equally the tasks

of homemaking and the nurturing of children.

REDUCING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

Although more women are seeking careers, we are still very far from providing them with the fair chance in the job market mandated by the Congress when it passed Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which outlawed discrimination in hiring, promotion and pay. The continued huge gap between the pay of men and the pay of women has been found by virtually all academic researchers to be caused in large part by discrimination. Further evidence of continuing discrimination comes from persuasive testimony in our courts of law, which have made judgements of discrimination in hundreds of cases. Open and unchecked occupational segregation continues to be the norm, and this facilitates paying low wages to women.

The trends towards higher divorce rates, and more single-parent families make the fact of widespread discrimination against women workers more serious in its effects. Women who are the sole support of themselves and their children are denied by discrimination jobs which pay a decent wage, and are denied jobs which hold out the opportunity of promotion. This means that their children are denied a decent standard of living and decent care.

The increase in women's labor force

participation also makes a reduction in discrimination more vital. As more and more women are seeking jobs, they are crowding into the traditionally female occupations, in part because they are not accepted into jobs which have illegally been labeled "men's jobs". This overcrowding of the traditionally female occupations will, through the workings of supply and demand, put downward pressure on women's wages.

We need a new and vigorous campaign against employment discrimination on account of sex and on account of race or origin, under statutes and executive orders already in existance. The present Administration has reduced almost to nothing the level of enforcement activity, from the already pathetically low level we were granted by previous administrations. We need more than a return to the flaccid standard of enforcement provided by Johnson, Nixon, Ford or Carter.

The ingrediants necessary for a more vigorous attack on employment discrimination are: (1) a return to requiring affirmative action from employers, with more rigorous use of goals and timetables, (2) better allocation of effort so as to target large and influential employers, (3) debarment of government contractors found discriminating, (4) more appropriations for

enforcement agencies, (5) an effort to clean up employment discrimination by the Federal establishment itself, in management jobs and in such technical jobs as air traffic controller, (6) leadership in the realignment of wages, so as to pay wages in the traditionally female occupations which reflect the skill and responsibility they require.

HELPING SINGLE PARENTS - CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

Single parents are increasing rapidly in number. In one of every five American families with children under 18, one of the biological parents is no longer a member of the household. In most cases, it is the father who is gone.

About 75 percent of single-parent families result from divorce or separation, about 15 percent from out-of-wedlock births, and about 10 percent from the death of a spouse. Whatever their history or past sins, however, single parents are performing the socially necessary job of supervising and bringing up children under extremely adverse circumstances. They and their children desparately need the help of society.

Single-parent families need and deserve child-support payments regularly and in reasonable amounts from absent biological parents. The enforcement system for child-support payments now in operation badly needs basic overhaul. Help is also needed in

getting single parents access to better jobs, and in getting their children adequate care while the single parent is working.

Research that I and my students are currently conducting on the relation of child support, work effort and welfare shows that a system of child support enforcement which guaranteed that the payments would be received would enable us to reduce the welfare case load by a substantial fraction. Child support enforcement does substantially more than replace welfare dollars by child support dollars. Guaranteed child support, unlike welfare money, is not reduced when the recipient works. So child support, unlike welfare, encourages work.

HELPING SINGLE PARENTS - SUBSIDIZED CHILD CARE

The provision by government of subsidized child care for children of single-parent families is of high priority. A single parent performs single-handedly functions which are difficult enough for parents in two-parent families. They need to earn their livings, and they need to spend time on the myriad tasks which must be done to raise a child.

Whatever we may think of the issue of subsidized child care for all children (and here other countries, such as France and Sweden are way ahead of us) it should be obvious that single-parent

families need a rapid and substantial expansion of help in this regard. Saving money on day care for the children of single-parent families is grossly short-sighted.

SHORTER WORK HOURS

The increase in the number of workers due to the influx of women into the labor force, and the possibly reduced demand for labor due to increasing automation suggest that we should be moving in the direction of a permanently reduced work week and more part time work. Such a development would reduce unemployment and would improve the quality of family life, giving both fathers and mothers more time for home making activities and child nurturing.

The standard work week has declined hardly at all since the end of World War II, despite great increases in the level of productivity and income, which in the past have been enjoyed partly as increased time away from work. I believe that the failure of the work week to decline has been due in considerable measure to the tax treatment of fringe benefits, particularly health insurance. In this connection, I think the Administration's suggestions to make less favorable the tax treatment of some health insurance provided by employers is a step in the right direction. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide overtime pay after 35 or 37 hours should also be considered. This matter

deserves very careful study.

In the same vein, employers should be discouraged from treating part time employees differently from full time employees with regard to pay and benefits. Ending the ability of employers to discriminate against part-time employees, currently mostly women, would increase the number of women and men - fathers and mothers - who would choose to work part time. Again, this would reduce unemployment and improve family life.

EASING THE TRANSITION

There are those who do not welcome the trend towards greater similarity and greater equality in the roles of men and women. Some men undoubtedly regret having to give up the patriarchal power in the family and regret the loosening of their monopoly on the best jobs. But women and men who have a feminist commitment to equality between the sexes are also worried about some of the same problems which trouble the anti-feminists. We are all worried over the increasing rarity of the monogamous lifetime relationship, worried about the nurturing of our children, worried about the increasing numbers of unhappy single people living alone.

Whether we welcome or abhor the current trends in sex roles, we must recognize that they will

continue into the forseeable future. There is no legislation or government commission or administration policy that could possibly be effective in sending women back into full time homemaking, or in lessening the number of divorces. On the other hand, there is much that government should and can do to ease the transition to a world of gender equality.

Representative SNOWE. Ms. O'Neill.

STATEMENT OF JUNE O'NEILL, SENIOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Ms. O'NEILL. I am, of course, pleased to be here today. The material in the census monograph raises a major puzzle.

Despite a dramatic increase in women's labor force activity, the gap between women and men has apparently persisted and even widened since 1955. Has there been no reduction in economic discrimination despite the implementation of equal pay and equal employment legislation? And why are women moving into the labor force so rapidly if their relative wage disadvantage has not declined?

In my statement today I will address these questions. First, with respect to the rise in women's labor force participation, a substantial body of economic research has addressed the question why women's activity in the labor market has increased so sharply over time.

For once, there is even considerable agreement among economists on the answer. Basically economic growth raised the level of earnings of both women and men, and made paid employment outside the home a better alternative to work in the home for an increasingly large proportion of married women.

In addition, the sectors of the economy which expanded most rapidly were the service industries where women have always been more readily employed. The pull of rising earnings and opportunities, it should be noted, was sufficient to overcome the effect of rising husbands' incomes; a factor that, in itself, could have dampened wives' incentives for work.

In fact, if you look at a moment in time at the relationship between wives' labor force participation and husband's incomes, you find the higher the husband's income the less likely it is that the wife works.

In sum, women have been highly responsive to the rising level of wages. There were other elements, of course, influencing women's movement into the work force and they are discussed in my prepared statement.

Now, with respect to the size and determinants of the wage gap, a popular button worn by feminists in the United States bears the slogan "59 Cents Out of Every Dollar," referring to the most well-known measure of the female/male earnings ratio which compares the annual earnings of women and men who work year round and are primarily full time.

This earnings ratio was 62 percent in 1982, which is a small rise from the past 10 or 15 years. Measured as hourly earnings of full-time workers in 1982, the ratio was higher. It was 69 percent.

The reason that the hourly earnings ratio is higher than the annual earnings ratio is because the annual measure refers to full-time workers without distinguishing between full-time workers who may work 44 hours a week and those who may work 36 hours a week. And, in fact, men tend to have a longer full-time workweek than women, about 10 percent longer. However, using the hourly earnings ratio of 69 percent still leaves a wage gap of 31 percent, which is still quite large.

What accounts for the pay gap? Clearly not all the differentials reflect discrimination. For example, one study showed that Jewish men earned 31 percent more than white Protestant men in 1956, only half of which could be attributed to factors such as educational and regional differences. Yet Jews at that time were openly barred from particular firms and industries, and were subject to restrictive quotas at many schools and training institutions; 1956 predated Civil Rights Acts. So one could openly bar people on race, sex, and religious grounds, and Jews were subject to restrictive quotas.

Even adjusting for factors such as education still leaves a differential in favor of Jewish men. I think what that example shows is that differentials, themselves, do not tell you very much about discrimination and that it is extremely difficult to identify statistically what amount of earnings is due to discrimination and what amount is due to other things.

Before one can say something about discrimination between groups one must be able to compare their productivity. Some aspects of productivity are difficult to measure, such as the intensity of work effort or the excellence of performance. Worker productivity is also the result of investments in the acquisition of skills such as schooling, training on the job, job search, and geographic location. All of these investments involve costs in the form of time and earnings foregone, and some involve direct monetary expenditures as well.

Since the mature women of today have worked fewer years than men, they would have had less incentive to invest in skills requiring lengthy schooling or other training. Employed white women aged 40 to 49 in 1977, for example, and worked in about 60 percent of the years after leaving school while men of the same age have been in the labor force fairly continuously.

Moreover, and what is particularly crucial for investments, many women had never planned to work as many years as they actually did. Even among younger women, expectations have fallen short of actual work experience.

Thus, among women aged 20 to 24 in 1968 only 32 percent said they planned to be working rather than be a homemaker when they reached age 35, but more than 60 percent were actually working in 1978 when they reached age 30 to 34. Such early expectations influence courses chosen in school, early job experience, the extent of job search and other activities that will have an impact on later earnings.

I have found in a research project dealing with the determinants of occupation that women who expected to be a homemaker but subsequently were employed were much more likely to be in a predominantly female occupation rather than women with work plans.

Incidentally, women who at an early age planned to be in male dominated occupations were likely to be in predominantly male occupations, which shows that choice has something to do with eventual outcomes.

Some jobs provide amenities, such as short hours, long vacations or flexible schedules, that may cost something for the employer to provide and are paid for in the form of lower wages. Other jobs may have characteristics which are distasteful to workers, such as work involv-

ing hazards or other unpleasant environmental characteristics; and such jobs may pay premiums.

Women and men, on the average, evaluate such job characteristics differently. Women, even those who work full time, tend to remain responsible for household work and this may well influence preferences for hours and other job characteristics.

A large number of studies have investigated the extent to which sex differences in skills and other factors can account for the wage gap. The results of several of these studies are summarized in my prepared statement.

Most of the studies refer to the United States. I also include studies of the sex differential in the Soviet Union and Sweden. The results from those two countries are remarkably similar to results from the United States. After adjusting for various characteristics, most studies find that the wage gap narrows.

In a recent study, for example, I found that an initial wage gap of 34 percent between white women and men aged 25 to 34 was narrowed to 20 percent after accounting for the effects of male/female differences in work experience, job tenure and schooling, as well as differences in plant size, unionization and certain job characteristics such as the years of training required to learn a skill and whether the occupation was hazardous and noisy or required heavy lifting.

Are the remaining unaccounted for differences a measure of discrimination in the labor market? If all the productivity differences between women and men are not accurately identified and measured, labor market discrimination would be overestimated by the unexplained residual. Many variables are omitted from studies because relevant data are not available. These include details on quality and vocational relevance of education, on the extent of other work-related investments such as job search and on less tangible factors such as motivation and effort. Sex differences in these factors could arise from the priority placed on earning and income versus fulfilling home responsibilities.

If women, by tradition, are relegated the primary responsibility for homemaking and raising children, they may be reluctant to take jobs that demand an intense work commitment. Societal discrimination may influence the division of labor in the home, but this should be distinguished from labor market discrimination.

On the other hand, the unexplained residual may underestimate discrimination if some of the observed difference in market investments, themselves, reflect labor market discrimination. For example, employers may deny women entry into training programs or fail to promote them.

It is difficult to distinguish this situation from one where women choose not to engage in available training because of uncertainty about their long-run career plans or because of competing responsibilities at home. Thus, the precise amount that can be labeled as the result of choice made by women and their families, rather than the result of discrimination by employers, is not known; and this, I think, is a matter of conjecture.

The failure of the wage gap to narrow over time has been noted. The wage gap would not narrow significantly over time unless the

productivity or skill or women in the labor force increased relative to men's or discrimination in the workplace diminished.

Because the gross wage gap widened somewhat after 1955, either discrimination increased or women's skills decreased relative to men's. Findings from a recent Urban Institute study suggested that changes in skills, as measured by the change in the education and work experience of men and women in the labor force, explained the increase in the wage gap.

In 1952, women in the labor force had completed 6 more years of schooling than men. This difference narrowed sharply so that by 1979 women did not have more education than men.

One reason for this is that the education level of men was aided by the GI bill and men's education advanced considerably more rapidly than women's at the college level during the 1950's. Another factor is that the labor force participation of less educated women increased more rapidly than the participation of highly educated women.

Thus, the female labor force became increasingly less selective over time in terms of schooling attainment.

Another possibility—although the proportion of women working increased sharply over the past three decades, this does not necessarily mean that the years of work experience of the average employed woman increased. In fact, rising labor force participation can mean that the work experience of employed women is falling if large numbers of less experienced women enter the labor force.

While data on the total number of years of work experience of women are not available for periods of time before the late 1960's, data on job tenure—years with current employer—show that in 1951 men's job tenure exceeded women's job tenure by 1.7 years. This differential in job tenure widened in the 1960's to 2.7 years and then slowly declined, reaching 1.9 years in 1978 and 1.5 years in 1981. The combined effect of the relative decline in the education and work experience of employed women was sufficient to cause a greater widening in the wage gap than actually occurred during the late 1950's and early 1960's.

Incidentally, more detailed data on total years of work experience are available from the National Longitudinal Survey for the period from the late 1960's to the late 1970's and these data do show that working women are starting to accumulate slightly more work experience; and these changes would be expected to cause the wage gap to narrow slightly.

There has not been any narrowing of the unadjusted wage gap between 1965 and 1979. However, in the last 3 years there has been a small narrowing of the wage gap. It is small for the total population and it is fairly pronounced for younger age groups.

Evidence from the National Longitudinal Survey suggests that the pay gap is likely to narrow perceptably in the next decade. Not only are young women working more continuously, but they are also getting higher pay for each year of work experience than they were in the late 1960's.

This could reflect a reduction in sex discrimination by employers or a greater willingness of women to invest in market skills, or both. Women's career expectations also seem to be rising.

In response to a question asked in a National Longitudinal Survey in 1973, 57 percent of women between the ages of 25 and 29 indicated their intention to hold jobs rather than be a homemaker when they reached age 35. Among women reaching ages 25 to 29 in 1978, 77 percent expressed their intentions to be workers rather than homemakers.

Young women have also greatly increased their college enrollment levels over the past decade. As the Census report noted, there have been impressive gains in professional degrees.

As these younger women become a larger component of the female labor force, it is anticipated that the overall wage gap would be reduced.

I did want to make a few comments about the section of the Census report that dealt with women and poverty. The colorful phrase, "Feminization of Poverty," suggests that women have been falling to the bottom as the economy grows. Table 5 in the Census report, which shows the changing composition of the poverty population, would seem to prove that this is, indeed, the case.

The table is misleading, however. What it shows is the share of all poor persons who are living in female-headed families or who are women living alone or with nonrelatives. This characterization of female poverty includes men living in female-headed families and excludes women who live in male-headed households.

Moreover, it mixes up changes in poverty that result from an increase in the share of female-headed families or unrelated women in the population with the poverty status of these groups. Any group will automatically become a larger share of the poverty population if they become a larger share of the total population.

As the report points out elsewhere, persons in female-headed families and persons living in their own households or with nonrelatives have greatly increased their share of the population; thus we expect their share of the poverty population to rise.

The more informative statistic for assessing the change in well-being is the poverty rate. In 1959, the poverty rate of all adult women is estimated to have been 23.5 percent compared to 16.4 percent for adult men.

By 1979, women's poverty rate had fallen sharply to 11.8 percent while the male rate fell even more sharply, to 7.4 percent. As a result, women's share of adult poverty rose from 59 percent to 64 percent.

That is a different poverty statistic. It takes all women, regardless of the kinds of households they live in, and compares their poverty status with men regardless of the kinds of households they live in.

Thus women somewhat increased as a percentage of poor adults over time, but a declining percentage of all women were poor. The relevant questions raised by these statistics are:

Why has women's poverty rate always been higher? And why has it fallen less over time? Not all groups of women have high poverty rates. Two groups of women—older women and women heading families with children—stand out as having an unusually high incidence of poverty.

Old age, especially for widows who have been homemakers for most of their lives, is a time of higher than average poverty. The poverty rate for older women, however, while still high was dropped consider-

ably over time, but by less than the drop for other women or for men.

In 1979, 30 percent of female heads were still in poverty. The major reason for this high rate is the difficulty women face who must both care for their children and earn the family's money income.

Women almost always get custody of children when parents separate or divorce, but only 43 percent of women in this situation received child support payments in 1981. Women with children born out of wedlock almost never receive child support from the father and this group is increasing as a proportion of female-headed families.

In 1981, women who had never married made up 20 percent of all women heading families with children and 34 percent of all such women who were in poverty. Many women become totally dependent on welfare benefits and, in most cases, these benefits do not lift their incomes above the poverty level.

The poverty rate for women heading families who were full-time homemakers was 57 percent in 1979. Women who did not work at all made up 37 percent of female family heads. On the other hand, among those female family heads who managed to work full time, year round, the poverty rate was relatively low—5.4 percent—and about 36 percent of all women heading families were in this category.

The poverty faced by female-headed families does not seem to be the result of a failure in the labor market. It more likely reflects complex social problems related to the dissolution of marriage, particularly when the wife had specialized in homemaking foregoing the development of job skills.

It also reflects problems related to childbearing by women who are, themselves, children ill equipped to support themselves and their families. It is unrealistic to expect that antidiscrimination policies should resolve these problems.

A more promising solution may lie in policies that address teenage childbearing and in improvement of the civil justice system which does not, at present, insure the continuing support of the absent father, part of a larger problem of property rights in marriage and their assignment when a marriage is dissolved.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. O'Neill, together with the attached tables, follows:]

Prepared Statement of June O'Neill

Representative Snow:

I am pleased to have the opportunity today to present my views on trends in women's economic status.

The Census monograph, American Women: Three Decades of Change, presents a picture of considerable change in women's fertility, labor force participation and marital status. It also raises a major puzzle. Despite a dramatic increase in women's labor force activity, the wage gap between women and men has apparently persisted and even widened since 1955. Has there been no reduction in economic discrimination despite the implementation of equal pay and equal employment legislation? And why are women moving into the labor force so rapidly if their relative wage disadvantage has not declined?

My statement today will address these questions. It will cover the following topics:

- o The factors underlying the rise in women's labor force participation
- o The size and determinants of the wage gap
- o Women and poverty

The Rise in Women's Labor Force Participation

A substantial body of economic research has addressed the question why women's activity in the labor market has increased so sharply over time. For once there is even considerable agreement among economists on the answer. Basically, economic growth raised the level of earnings of both women and men and made paid employment outside the home a better alternative to work in the home for an increasingly large proportion of married women. In addition, the sectors of the economy which expanded most rapidly were the service industries, where women had no comparative disadvantage based on physical

strength and where women had always been more readily employed. The pull of rising earnings and opportunities, it should be noted, was sufficient to overcome the effect of rising husbands' incomes, a factor that in itself could have dampened wives' incentives for work.

There were other elements influencing women's movement into the work force to be sure. Technology, perhaps partly in response to the increase in working women, provided low cost substitutes for home labor, to mention a few -- wash and wear fabrics, self-cleaning ovens, fast food shops and one-stop shopping malls. In addition, new birth control methods have enabled women to better control the number and timing of births. Two important demographic trends -- the decline in desired fertility and the increase in the divorce rate -- interacted with each other and with women's labor force participation, both responding to it and influencing it. The increasing risk of divorce made full-time homemaking a more shaky lifetime career, and smaller family size reduced the scope of work to be done in the home. Taking a longer view, I would also rank the decline in infant and child mortality as a major factor freeing women from a biologically determined role in the home. When it took two births to produce one child with a high probability of surviving to adulthood, the period of childbearing and infant feeding ranged over much more of a shorter life span.

The Size and Determinants of the Wage Gap

A popular button worn by feminists in the United States bears the slogan: "59 cents out of every dollar," referring to the most well-known measure of the female-male earnings ratio which compares the annual earnings of women and men who work year-round and are primarily full-time. In 1982 this earnings ratio was 62 percent. When measured on an hourly earnings

basis, the ratio for full-time workers in 1982 was higher -- 69 percent (Table 1). This is because full-time work can be 35 hours or more a week and men tend to have a longer work week than women, working longer scheduled hours, more overtime and taking second jobs more often. (The Bureau of Labor Satistics has only recently started to collect these data for calculating hourly earnings and I believe they provide a better comparison than the annual earnings series.)

Using the hourly earnings ratio of 69 percent leaves a wage gap of 31 percent, which is still quite large. What accounts for the pay gap? Clearly not all differentials reflect discrimination. For example, one study showed that Jewish men earned 31 percent more than white Protestant men in 1956, only half of which could be attributed to factors such as educational and regional differences; yet Jews were openly barred from particular firms and industries and were subject to restrictive quotas at many schools and training institutions (Barry Chiswick, The Labor Market Status of American Jews, 1983).

Before one can say something about discrimination between groups, one must be able to compare their productivity. Some aspects of productivity are difficult to measure, such as the intensity of work effort or the excellence of performance. Worker productivity, however, is also the result of investments in learning and improving skills--often called investments in human capital. The following types of investments are among those considered important: formal schooling which has both a quantitative and qualitative dimension; training on the job; job search, which better matches the worker to the job; and geographic migration, which better matches the worker with the location. All of these investments involve costs in the form of time and earnings forgone, and some involve direct monetary expenditures as well.

Since the mature women of today have worked fewer years than men, they would have had less incentive to invest in skills requiring lengthy schooling or other training. Employed white women age 40-49 in 1977, for example, had worked in about 60 percent of the years after leaving school, while men of the same age have been in the labor force fairly continuously. Moreover, and what is particularly crucial for investments, many women had never planned to work as many years as they actually did. Even among younger women expectations have fallen short of actual work experience. Thus among women age 20-24 in 1968 only 32 percent said they planned to be working, rather than be a homemaker, when they reached age 35; but more than 60 percent were actually working in 1978 when they reached aged 30-34. Such early expectations influence courses chosen in school, early job experience, the extent of job search and other activities that will have an impact on later earnings. I have found in a research project dealing with the determinants of occupation that women who expected to be a homemaker, but subsequently were employed were much more likely to be in predominantly female occupations than women with work plans.

In addition to requiring particular skills, some jobs provide amenities such as short hours, long vacations, flexible schedules, or a location near residential areas, that may cost something for the employer to provide, and are paid for through lower wages. Other jobs may have characteristics which are distasteful to workers, such as work involving hazards, noise or other unpleasant environmental characteristics. Such jobs may pay premiums. Women and men may, on average, evaluate such job characteristics differently. Women, even those who work full time tend to remain responsible for household work and this may well influence preferences for hours and other job characteristics. Cultural and physical differences may also play a role.

A large number of studies have investigated the extent to which sex differences in measurable skills and other factors can account for the wage gap. The results of several of these studies are summarized in Table 2. The studies reviewed use different data sources, refer to different populations and control for many, but not always the same set of variables. Most of the studies refer to the United States, but studies of the sex differential in the Soviet Union and Sweden are also included. The gross wage gap -- the hourly earnings differential before adjusting for diverse characteristics -- varies from study to study, ranging from 45 to 7 percent, depending on the type of population considered. Studies based on national samples covering the full age and occupational range tend to show a gross wage gap of about 35 percent. Studies based on more homogeneous groups, such as holders of advanced degrees or those in specific professions, have observed considerably smaller gross wage gaps.

After adjusting for various characteristics, the wage gap narrows. Generally, the most important variables contributing to the adjustment are those that measure the total number of years of work experience, the years of tenure on current job, and the pattern or continuity of previous work experience. Studies that do not have retrospective or, better yet, longitudinal data on women's lifetime work experience usually can account for little of the wage gap. In a recent study I found that an initial wage gap of 34 percent (between white women and men age 25-34) was narrowed to 20 percent after accounting for the effects of male-female differences in work experience, job tenure, and schooling, as well as differences in plant size, unionization, and certain job characteristics, such as the years of training required to learn a skill and whether the occupation was hazardous and noisy or required heavy lifting.

Are the remaining, unaccounted-for differences a measure of discrimination in the labor market? If all the productivity differences between women and men are not accurately identified and measured, labor market discrimination would be overestimated by the unexplained residual. Many variables are omitted from studies because relevant data are not available. These include details on the quality and vocational relevance of education, on the extent of other work-related investments, such as job search, and on less tangible factors such as motivation and effort. Sex differences in these factors could arise from the priority placed on earning an income versus fulfilling home responsibilities. If women, by tradition, are relegated the primary responsibility for homemaking and raising children, they may be reluctant to take jobs that demand an intense work commitment. Societal discrimination may influence the division of labor in the home, but this should be distinguished from labor market discrimination.

On the other hand, the unexplained residual may underestimate discrimination if some of the observed differences in market investments themselves reflect labor market discrimination. For example, employers may deny women entry into training programs or fail to promote them. It is difficult to distinguish this situation from one where women choose not to engage in available training because of uncertainty about their long-run career plans or because of competing responsibilities at home. Thus the precise amount that can be labeled as the result of choices made by women and their families rather than the result of discrimination by employers is not known.

Why the Wage Gap Has Failed to Narrow

The wage gap would not narrow significantly over time unless the productivity or skill of women in the labor force increased relative to men's

or discrimination in the work place diminished. Because the gross wage gap widened somewhat after 1955, either discrimination increased or women's skills decreased relative to men's. Findings from a recent Urban Institute study suggest that changes in skills, as measured by the change in the education and work experience of men and women in the labor force, explain the increase in the wage gap.

In 1952 women in the labor force had completed 1.6 more years of schooling than men. This difference narrowed sharply so that by 1979 it had disappeared. One reason for this is that the education level of men, aided by the GI bill, advanced more rapidly than that of women during the 1950s. Another is that the labor force participation of less educated women increased more rapidly than the participation of highly educated women. Thus, the female labor force became increasingly less selective over time in terms of schooling attainment.

Although the proportion of women working increased sharply over the past three decades, this does not necesarily mean that the years of work experience of the average employed woman increased. In fact rising labor force participation can mean that the work experience of employed women is falling, if large numbers of less experienced women enter the labor force. While data on the total number of years of work experience of women are not available for periods of time before the late 1960s, data on job tenure -- years with current employer -- show that in 1951 men's job tenure exceeded women's job tenure by 1.7 years. This difference widened in the 1960s to 2.7 years, and then slowly declined reaching 1.9 years in 1978 and 1.5 years in 1981. The combined effect of the relative decline in the education and work experience of employed women was sufficient to cause a greater widening in the wage gap than actually occurred during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Since the mid-

1960s, education and work experience differences have moved in different directions. Male educational attainment rose slightly more than that of working women, which alone would have widened the pay gap slightly. But the difference in job tenure declined overall.

More detailed data on total years of work experience are available from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) for the 1967 to 1978 period. These data show that working women accumulated slightly more work experience during this more recent period. On the whole, these changes should have caused the wage gap to narrow slightly. It did not do so between 1965 and 1979. Between 1979 and 1982, however, a small narrowing in the wage gap is evident in both the annual earnings and hourly earings data. More significant changes in the wage gap are apparent at younger ages. For the age group 25 to 34, the pay gap in annual earnings has narrowed from 38 percent in 1965 to 28 percent in 1982. One reason for the improvement is that the gap in work experience and in job tenure has also diminished for this group.

The Future

Evidence from the NLS and other sources suggests that the pay gap is likely to narrow perceptibly in the next decade. Not only are young women working more continuously, but they are also getting higher pay for each year of work experience than they were in the late 1960s. This could reflect a reduction in sex discrimination by employers or a greater willingness of women to invest in market skills, or both. Women's career expectations also seem to be rising. In response to an NLS question asked in 1973, 57 percent of women between 25 and 29 indicated their intention to hold jobs rather than be a homemaker when they reached age 35. Among women reaching ages 25 to 29 in 1978, 77 percent expressed their intentions to work.

Young women have also greatly increased their education level relative to men. Female college enrollments increased significantly during the 1970s, while male enrollment fell between 1975 and 1980. Moreover, women have made impressive gains in professional degrees during the 1970s. Work roles and work expectations of women and men may well be merging. As these younger women become a larger component of the female labor force, it is anticipated that the overall wage gap will be reduced.

Women and Poverty

The colorful phrase, "feminization of poverty" suggests that women have been falling to the bottom as the economy grows. Table 5 (p. 25) in the Census report which shows the changing composition of the poverty population would seem to prove that this is indeed the case. The table is misleading, however. What it shows is the share of all poor persons who are living in female-headed families or who are women living alone or with non-relatives. This characterization of female poverty includes men living in female-headed families, and excludes women who live in male-headed households. Moreover, it mixes up changes in poverty that result from an increase in the share of female-headed families (or unrelated women) in the population, with the poverty status of these groups. Any group will automatically become a larger share of the the poverty population if they become a larger share of the total population. As the report points out elsewhere, persons in female-headed families and persons living in their own households (or with non-relatives) have greatly increased their share of the population; thus we expect their share of the poverty population to rise.

The more informative statistic for assessing the change in well-being is the poverty rate. In 1959 the poverty rate of all adult women (18 and over)

is estimated to have been 23.5 percent compared to 16.4 percent for adult men. By 1979 women's poverty rate had fallen sharply to 11.8 percent, while the male rate fell even more sharply to 7.4 percent. As a result, women's "share" of adult poverty rose from 59 percent to 64 percent. Thus women somewhat increased as a percentage of poor adults over time; but a declining percentage of all women were poor.

The relevant questions raised by these statistics are: Why has women's poverty rate always been higher? And why has it fallen less over time?

Not all groups of women have high poverty rates. Two groups of women -- older women and women heading families with children -- stand out as having an unusually high incidence of poverty. Old age, especially for widows who have been homemakers for most of their lives, is a time of higher than average poverty. The poverty rate for older women, however, while still high, has dropped considerably over time (Table 3).

The poverty rate for women heading their own families (without a husband) has declined over time but by less than the drop for other women or for men. In 1979, 30.2 percent of female family heads were still in poverty. The major reason for this high rate is the difficulty women face who must both care for their children and earn the family's money income. Women almost always get custody of children when parents separate or divorce; but only 43 percent of women in this situation received child support payments in 1981. Women with children born out of wedlock almost never receive child support from the father and this group is increasing as a proportion of female headed families. In 1981 women who had never married made up 20 percent of all women heading families with children and 34 percent of all such women who were in poverty.

Many women become totally dependent on welfare benefits and in most cases these benefits do not lift their incomes above the poverty level. Moreover, AFDC benefits have fallen in real terms since the early 1970s. The poverty rate for women heading families who were full-time homemakers was 57 percent in 1979. Women who did not work at all made up 37 percent of female family heads. On the other hand, among those female family heads who managed to work full-time year-round the poverty rate was relatively low -- 5.4 percent, and about 36 percent of all women heading families were in this category.

The poverty faced by female-headed families does not seem to be the result of a failure in the labor market. It more likely reflects complex social problems related to the dissolution of marriage, particularly when the wife had specialized in homemaking, forgoing the development of job skillls. It also reflects problems related to childbearing by women who are themselves children, ill equipped to support themselves and their families. It is unrealistic to expect that anti-discrimination policies would resolve these problems. A more promising solution may lie in policies that address teenage childbearing and in improvement of the civil justice system which does not at present ensure the continuing support of the absent father, part of a larger problem of property rights in marriage and their assignment when a marriage is dissolved.

Table 1. The Female/Male Ratio of Median Weekly Earnings by Hours Usually Worked, for Employed Workers Classified as Full-Time, 1982 Averages (Wage and Salary Workers)

Hours Worked	Percentage distribution of full-time hours usually worked		Ratio of usual median weekly earnings (Women/Men)
	Women	Men	
Total, worked 35 hours or more	100.0	100.0	.652
35-39	17.4	5.0	.700
35	8.5	2.7	.737
36-37	3.1	0.8	.663
38-39	5.8	1.5	.662
40 or more	82.6	95.0	.659
40	72.7	70.6	.679
41 or more	9.9	24.4	.725
41-42	0.6	0.9	.667
43-44	0.9	1.3	.735
45-46	2.9	5.6	.765
47-48	1.0	2.4	.682
49-50	2.4	7.0	.735
51-54	0.2	0.6	.773
55-59	0.6	2.0	.732
60 or more	1.3	4.7	.697
Average differential:			
Weighted by women's hours distribution			.687
Weighted by men's hours distribution			.693

Source: Calculated from unpublished data from the Current Population Survey provided by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 2

Summary of Recent Research Findings on the Male-Female Earnings Gap

Author	Population and Data Source[1]	Chief Explanatory Variables		Unadjusted Wage Gap[2]	Adjusted Wage Gap[3]	Percentage Reduction in the Gap[4]
Astin and Bayer (1972)	College and university teaching faculty, 1969, U.S. (Carnegie-ACE)	Rank, institutional type, degree, research output, field		.22	.13	41
Blinder (1973)	Employed, white men and women, 25 years and over, 1969 U.S., (PSID)	Age, education, parental income and education, health, local labor market conditions, siblings, migration		.46	.46	0
M. Corcoran and Duncan (1979)	Married men and not their wives, 1975, U.S. (PSID)	Work history, labor force attachment, education, city size, region	White women: White men	.36	.22	39
			Black women: White men	.43	.32	26
Fuchs (1971)	1960 Census, U.S. (1/1000 sample) nonfarm persons	Age, race, education, marital status, city size, class of worker, length of trip to work		.40	.34	15
Gustafsson (1979)	White collar workers, private sector, Sweden, 1974	Schooling, work history, age		.33	.20	39
Gustafsson and Jacobsson (1983)	Panel of men and women, "Level of living investigation," Sweden:	Schooling, work history				
	1968		Same	.28	.25	11
	1974		Plus government	.25	.21	16
	1981		Plus government	.17	.15	12

Table 2 (continued)

Summary of Recent Research Findings on the Male-Female Earnings Gap

Author	Population and Data Source[1]	Chief Explanatory Variables	Unadjusted Wage Gap[2]	Adjusted Wage Gap[3]	Percentage Reduction in the Gap[4]
Johnson and Stafford (1973)	Ph.D.s in six fields by sector, 1970 (U.S.) (NSF)	Years since receipt of doctorate, field, sector, degree	By Years since Ph.D.		
			0 yrs. .07	.07	0
			10 yrs. .15	.07	53
			20 yrs. .20	.07	65
			30 yrs. .31	.07	86
Malkiel and Malkiel (1973)	272 professional employees of a single corporation, 1971, U.S.	Education, work experience, degree, research output, absences; with and without job level	.35	.12	66
			with job level	.01	97
Mincer and Polachek (1974)	White married and single women 30-44; white married men, 30-44, 1967, U.S. (NLS, SEO)	Schooling, years of experience since completion of school, current job tenure	White, married: .34	.22	.35
			White, single: .14	.13	7
Oaxaca (1973)	Urban whites and blacks, 16 and over, 1967, U.S. (SEO)	Age, education, health, hours, migration, marital status, children, size of urban area, region, with and without occupation and industry	White: .35	.28	20
			with industry and occupation	.24	31
			Black: .33	.32	3
			with industry and occupation	.22	33
Ofer and Vinokur (1979)	1016 Soviet emigrant families, based on last year in Soviet Union, urban European sectors, 1972-74	Hours, education, work experience, age, broad occupation and industry	.34	.26	28
	-- university grade		.30	.16	47
	-- secondary professional		.38	.20	47
	-- general schooling or less		.36	.28	22
O'Neill (1983a)	Women and men age 24-34 in 1976-78, U.S. (NLS)	Education, work history job characteristics, major industry (also percent female in worker's occupation)	White: .34	.20	41
			-- with percent female	.12	65
			Black: .18	.16	11
			-- with percent female	.09	50
Sawhill (1973)	Wage and salary workers, U.S., 1966	Race, education, age, hours per week, weeks worked per year	.54	.44	19
Strober and Reagan (1977)	Sample of 580 economists, 1974-75, U.S.	Experience, research output, institutional characteristics, quality of grad school, age at whether in administrative work	Academic: .19	.10	47
			All .16	.08	50

Footnotes to Table 2

1. Abbreviations for data sources are: National Longitudinal Survey (NLS), Carnegie Commission on Higher Education-American Council on Education (Carnegie-ACE), Survey of Economic Opportunity (SEO), Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), National Science Foundation Register (NSF), Current Population Survey (CPS).

2. Unadjusted wage gap = $\frac{M - F}{M}$, where F = observed female wage, M = observed male wage.

3. Adjusted wage gap = $\frac{(M - F)^*}{M}$, where $(M - F)^*$ is the wage differential adjusted for male-female differences in characteristics. Where the adjustment is derived from separate wage equations for men and women, the female coefficients are used. See note below for definition of wage.

4. [(Unadjusted wage gap - Adjusted Wage gap) ÷ Unadjusted wage gap] x 100.

Note: The wage is expressed as hourly earnings except for: Astin and Bayer, institutional salary controlling for months of work; Johnson and Stafford, 9-month salary; Malkiel and Malkiel, annual salary for full-time workers; Ofer and Vinokur, monthly earnings; Sawhill, annual earnings; Strober and Reagan, annual income including salary, consulting fees, royalties, etc.

Source: June O'Neill, "Earnings Differentials: Empirical Evidence and Causes" in Gunther Schmid, ed., Discrimination and Equalization in the Labor Market: Employment Policies for Women in Selected Countries, forthcoming, 1984.

Table 3. Poverty Rates of Women and Men by Work Status and Family Status

	1959	1966	1979
All women, 22 to 64	---	12.1	10.2
Worked during year	---	9.8	5.8
Full-time, yr. round	---	5.1	1.9
Did not work	---	15.1	19.0
Female heads of families	42.6	---	30.2
Worked during year	33.3	---	18.9
Full-time, yr. round	16.6	---	5.4
Did not work	54.1	---	49.5
Women 65 and over	---	32.2	17.9
All men, 22 to 64	---	8.3	6.3
Worked during year	---	6.8	4.6
Full-time, yr. round	---	4.5	2.2
Did not work	---	41.4	26.9
Male heads of families	15.8	---	7.0[1]
Worked during year	13.4	---	5.3[1]
Full-time, yr. round	9.1	---	3.1[1]
Did not work	40.0	---	14.5[1]
Men 65 and over	---	23.8	11.0

[1]Includes a small percentage women in husband-wife families who were designated as the "householder."

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports.

Representative SNOWE. Thank you, Ms. O'Neill.

I would like to begin by asking both of you about the issue of discrimination concerning the wage gap. I know, Professor Bergmann, you mentioned the fact that discrimination is primarily the reason for the wage gap between men and women.

Ms. O'Neill, you cite a number of issues—job tenure, work experience, plant size, unionization—a number of issues that account for the reason that there is a wage gap between men and women.

Do you believe that discrimination, such as a lack of equal opportunity enforcement, a lack of enforcement and affirmative action, accounts for the statistical difference of the wage gap between men and women?

Ms. O'NEILL. I really think that it is not known. I am sure that there is discrimination against women, that women are treated in a prejudiced way by some employers. The extent to which that may be an important influence on women's wages or on the wage gap is another story.

The example I gave in my testimony—comparing Jewish men and other men—in that case the fact that Jews were excluded from even substantial spheres of economic life did not seem to have a substantial impact on their earnings. However, it may have had—but it is difficult to tell from the statistics because it is very hard to know how to measure underlying differences in productivity.

As I noted, some of the factors such as work experience, could themselves be affected by discrimination. That is women may work less because there is discrimination against them. Therefore, what box you want to put the different factors in is something of a question.

My own interpretation, and what I believe from looking at the way the statistics behave, is that women do benefit from work experience. Women tend to be benefiting more now than they used to, as their earnings rise more rapidly with work experience, and women get at least as much out of their years of schooling as men.

I believe that the basic reasons for the wage differential have much more to do with differences in roles in the family than they do with discrimination in the labor market, which is not to say that there is not any prejudice against women; because I think most women at some time or other have experienced some treatment that they believe to be different from the treatment given men.

Representative SNOWE. But do you believe that discrimination accounts for any of the differences in the wage gap between men and women?

Ms. O'NEILL. It may, but I do not think that it is the major factor.

Representative SNOWE. I guess what I want to ask both of you—and Ms. Bergmann, you can comment on this as well—but, Ms. O'Neill, you list a number of characteristics that you say are quantifiable, talking about the wage gap and why men earn more than women. Yet on the other hand, you cannot quantify discrimination.

I do not understand how you can quantify plant size, unionization, hazardous work, noisy plants, and yet you cannot quantify an issue like discrimination.

And then, Ms. Bergmann, I would like to ask you, do you have statistical evidence that would document that discrimination plays a role in the wage gap which exists between men and women?

Ms. BERGMANN. Well, let me comment a little bit on Ms. O'Neill's testimony. She gave some numbers in her testimony. She said that on a wage gap of 34 percent, when you account for all the factors that she spent all her time discussing, there is 20 percent left, a wage gap of 20 percent.

That means that all those factors which she enumerated at great length, so lovingly, only amount to at most one-third, if I have interpreted her numbers correctly, of the gap.

Now, Ms. O'Neill and most economists usually stick to what you may call survey data in trying to study discrimination. But we do have other sources of information on discrimination; namely, we have hundreds and hundreds of court cases where discrimination has been proved, and I can say the judges are not particularly eager to make that discrimination decision. But where the testimony and the statistics have been so compelling, both anecdotal and statistical, there has been, I think, proof of discrimination.

We have recently read of a multimillion dollar—I believe something in the neighborhood of $50 million—that General Motors agreed to pay to settle a suit. I do not think they give out $50 million for nothing.

So I think there is ample evidence of discrimination whether Ms. O'Neill wants to believe it or not, and I do not really think we have to argue whether it is responsible for two-thirds of the gap or one-third of the gap or all of the gap, because we know it is there and whatever there is of it should be gotten rid of.

Representative SNOWE. Ms. O'Neill.

Ms. O'NEILL. Well, the percentage of the wage gap explained in the studies that I mentioned, including mine, is in the range of 40 to 50 percent, or more, depending on what you include and what you do not include. However, many of the explanatory factors cannot be quantified very easily or very readily. The things that everyone knows are important are impossible to quantify, at least with the kinds of data that one has, which are things having to do with the effort that is put forth, and the expectations that have been with somebody from the time they are a young person. There is a sequence of choices that one makes in one's life. If one knows that one's major responsibility in life is to earn an income for oneself and one's family, then one's motivation and attitude toward work is going to be totally different from someone who had not initially expected to work, but who finds that market work is a better choice at some later stage in life, but then has to make accommodations to that change. Moreover, for many women work will always be secondary to something else, since women still assume full responsibility in the home. That is a situation we are in now.

I think that the situation is changing. The true gender gap—the difference in life's outlook—is changing between women and men, but the wage differentials that one observes are the wage differentials of women who have grown up in an older world; and I think that it is unrealistic to deny that these differences in roles and attitudes exist. Women and men just simply have not entered the labor force with the same orientation and the same skills. That is why I tend to deemphasize the simple wage gap measures and even what the studies find, because I think they are inconclusive.

The supposed evidence of court cases and anecdotes is unsatisfactory. You can expect that the worst cases, where individual instances of prejudicial treatment arise, the worst ones are the ones that surface in courts. Private lawyers will not take a case unless a lawyer thinks a case has a good chance of success. So I do not think that court judgments are necessarily a fair representation of what has been going on, and I think you have to get back to what has been going on.

The United States was in the forefront of passing equal pay and equal employment legislation, and we have had it for a considerable number of years. In this country there was certainly no apparent effect on wage differentials as a result of this legislation although there have been many court cases.

Even early on, a case like AT&T resulted in large damages. Why, then, has not the wage gap given way if legislation was a major factor?

Another point—even if there is discrimination—there is still a question as to what you ought to do about it, or what the Government can, in fact, do about it?

Governments can eliminate legislation that penalize women in some way, and I think indirectly we do have institutions and policies that provide disincentives for women to work. The income tax is one and social security is another where women are in a sense subsidized if they are homemakers. So the Government is not neutral with respect to women working.

But it is also important to have equal pay and employment legislation so that women can have recourse to the law if they feel they are discriminated against. The hard issue is whether the Government should take the lead and be intrusive in the day-to-day actions of women and employers, trying to initiate and pursue unclear goals.

Ms. BERGMANN. I think Ms. O'Neill has the contention to become the Phyllis Schafly of women economists.

Let me comment on this matter of preparation for work. One of the curiosities of the American labor market is that women are in occupations for which they themselves have to pay for their training, such as nursing and secretarial work; whereas, men typically, especially blue-collar men, are in occupations for which employers train them. So that really, in a way, the shoe is on the other foot.

As to the question of the Government intruding on employer decisions, that is the law of the land. The reason that there has not been a narrowing of the wage gap is that employers have not been intruded upon enough and have been allowed to go their merry way.

If you go into any restaurant in this town, or very many restaurants, you will see an entire crew of waiters, and those waiters typically make more than women make in places where they are allowed to work.

Now, that is just an example, which all of us see every day. That has nothing to do with lack of motivation on the part of waitresses, of whom there are many, to make as much money as they can. That is just discrimination, and we all know that, and we have those experiences every day.

If you go into Sears, you will see men selling big ticket items and women selling candy and stockings, and that is not because the women in Sears do not like to make money or are not motivated or anything

of the sort. It has nothing to do with their plans when they were 5 years old. It is discrimination and it is discrimination which has gone unchecked.

It is a commonplace thing, and these examples that are given, they are commonsense. We all know what is going on there.

I think the factors that Ms. O'Neill has mentioned are worthy of respect. They are important. They do not account for most of the problem, and, moreover, they will give way with time if women see that they are entitled to and will get equal consideration on the job. I mean, that is now absent, and I believe that we should turn our face toward a new era where Government is going to look at situations like that and try to enforce the law.

Representative SNOWE. Ms. O'Neill, getting back to the issue of discrimination, how do you account for the fact that a wage gap exists even where men and women are doing the same job and even in the traditionally female occupations there exists a wage gap?

According to the Census Bureau report of the 91 occupations that they evaluated, men still were earning much more than women. So how do you account for that disparity in the wage gap between men and women which are traditionally female occupations and even after 20 years since the Equal Pay Act was passed in the Congress?

Ms. O'NEILL. It is not necessarily in the same job, as the census testimony pointed out. An occupation is a fairly broad category, and it can be performed in different situations—well, for example, take an occupation like schoolteachers. I do not know of any city in the United States that at present has a dual pay system for men and for women. I really have never heard such an allegation. Usually promotions, pay increases are based strictly on seniority. Yet there is a wage differential. I believe women in elementary school teaching earn 80 percent of what men earn. I surmise that that differential is due to differences in their distribution across school systems; that in school systems where pay is higher there are probably more men. And there are differences in seniority.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics does do studies where they take a narrow occupation or look within a firm and within a fine job category. I believe that they have found that there is virtually no difference between women's and men's pay when you get to that level of detail.

I do not think that Barbara Bergmann would deny that, but she would say—and I think she is right—that the issue is why are women not in the same firms and same job categories.

The two of us have different reasons explaining how women got there. I tend to think that it has to do more with the choices women make ourselves, and Barbara Bergmann thinks it has more to do with the choices employers make for them.

For every anecdote or every example of some discriminatory treatment, one can turn up a counter example. My sister plays the violin in the Los Angeles Philharmonic. When she first applied, there were very few—almost no women in the Los Angeles Philharmonic. But there also were not tremendous numbers of women applying. As more women tried to get into the Los Angeles Philharmonic, more women have been taken. Quite a large percentage of the symphony are now women.

That kind of work, incidentally, was work that at one time would have been regarded as very difficult for a woman to do because it requires working nights and travelling for a number of months. It is a more unusual lifestyle for a married woman with home responsibilities.

I think the changes in women's own attitudes have opened up the kinds of occupations that women never thought they could do before, and certainly the economic and social realities of life are very different than in the beginning of the century.

Representative SNOWE. Professor Bergmann, if all of the women were awarded child support, actually received child support, do you think that would make a difference in the welfare rate to women?

Ms. BERGMANN. I think it might reduce considerably. I think we could see dramatic reductions. I think we could reduce the welfare budget by 60 or 70 percent.

That would involve not only giving child support to those who have child support orders. It would also require more activity in getting men who fathered children out of wedlock to contribute, and I really believe that we really cannot make a lot of progress without more Federal presence in this whole matter.

Representative SNOWE. I would like to also ask both of you on the Census Bureau report, based on what we know and based on what the report has provided you, how can we in Congress reformulate our policies, or should we, and whether or not we can draw any conclusions from the Census Bureau report, and what differences should the Census Bureau report provide—anything differently?

Ms. O'NEILL. Census data as the Census Bureau testimony noted, relies on census information. That is information largely collected in the Current Population Survey. This survey has unfortunately been rather poor for studying women because it does not have any information about lifetime work experience, and it only infrequently has information about job tenure.

So it is very hard to draw any conclusions because an important ingredient—work experience—is simply missing. The studies that have been done that have sort of richer data rely on longitudinal surveys, and those are often limited to particular age groups.

Some of these surveys are also being eliminated by budget cuts, so we will have fewer of them to look at.

Also, I think it would be useful to have more questions about women's experiences, about what actually happens. It would be nice to know more about women's expectations at different stages in their lifetime. Do women apply for jobs, or wish they could attain a different occupation, but are put into slots other than the one they would have chosen by an employer? One simply does not have that information from any kind of national data.

Representative SNOWE. Professor Bergmann.

Ms. BERGMANN. Well, I would say that the lesson that ought to be taken from the census collection is really that there are very big changes which have been going on.

By the way, I remember you asked why 1950 is such a magic year. Well, in fact, we do have data going back to the beginning of the century, and they show that this process has been going on since before

the beginning of the century. And it was slow, but every decade, virtually every decade witnessed some changes in this direction.

We can see it started to snowball, and what was once a movement of a small group of women has now become the majority experience. And we know what when things become very common, again they pick up steam even further.

So that we can expect—far from expecting this to stop or reverse itself, we can expect that it will continue and accelerate, and I think the conservatives are right to worry about American life with these directions, and liberals should worry more when they do.

And the Congress, I believe, ought to take concern and think where are we going? How can we ease this transition to a different life, and how can we make it easier? How can we relieve the strains? What can we do for children in this new era where there will not be too many full-time housewives? And how can we get these things going?

One thing that concerns me, which I mentioned in my testimony, but which I have not really said much about, is that we should not become like the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union all the women work, and they all do all the housework.

One result of that, in addition to the fact that women lead miserable lives in the Soviet Union, even more miserable than the men's lives, is that this creates a very high rate of domestic dissatisfaction and divorce, because a woman says I have two children, I do not need a third, meaning her husband. And so there is a great deal of divorce.

It is really of no advantage to a woman to be married in the Soviet Union, very little, and some of the same things are happening here. All the survey data show that so far men have taken over very little of the work at home, and so I think we need—I do not know the extent to which the Government can contribute to this.

In Sweden, the Government is actually trying to do things which get men to participate more. My suggestion is that we have lower hours for everybody, which would contribute to that as well as cure unemployment. But I think that is a very important thing we ought to be thinking of. How can we get men to take more of a part in the family?

Representative SNOWE. Professor Bergmann, you mention in your testimony, and I know in articles that you have written in the past, about subsidized day care and the enforcement of child support laws. Both of these are important factors, I think, particularly for single parent households.

What do you think of the current child care incentives and child care tax credits that have been provided by the Government? Do you think we should be doing more in that respect, and do you think the expense should be borne by both the employer and the Government and the employee? What mix would you suggest for child care incentives that would perhaps be more beneficial for women?

Ms. BERGMANN. I have not really studied that. I would rather see us go the route that Sweden and France have gone, which is to provide public facilities, excellent public facilities for the care of younger children. It is just an extension, really, of the public school downward in age.

I think the way we are going now is opening up more loopholes with people with larger incomes. While it is better than nothing, I

think that we ought to be considering a provision of excellent facilities at low or zero cost.

Representative SNOWE. Would you care to comment, Ms. O'Neill?

Ms. O'NEILL. In France, they do have universal schooling, starting at a young age, but the effect on women has certainly not been noticeable. Labor force participation of women in France is lower than it is here, and the earning differential is about the same as it is here.

In Sweden, they do not really have sufficient day care places. Day care is locally provided. It is funded through central Government and local taxes, with fees also charged to parents. It leads to favoritism. Some people can get the better day care slots, and other people cannot.

I agree with Barbara Bergmann that child care is something that is going to be a subject of national debate. To what extent should the Government be involved in any sort of subsidy for child care for women who work? Providing it for everybody, including women who do not work—I am not sure that that is a particularly wise thing to do.

But there is a basic issue. If there is to society some gain from having children—and presumably there is—and it is women who have the children, and culturally—it is not a biological necessity certainly that women raise the children—but it is culturally by tradition that women are the ones who do it, and it is certainly children who are the hangup for women and their careers.

So I think there is a real question as to what extent society should contribute to child care for women who want to work. And there is another question—how the contribution should be made. To the extent that we do provide such support now, it is mainly a kind of a voucher that we provide through an income tax credit. It could be a more explicit kind of voucher, but I do not see any reason why the Government also has to provide the service. It would almost automatically become a much more expensive and much less flexible and maybe even less beneficial aid to women.

In the Soviet Union, they have day care centers. They are run by the Government. They are located in places that add to the burdens of women. An article in the Washington Post a few years back describes a woman who has to travel to the other end of Moscow to take her child to the day care center.

Once this subsidy is provided in this very rigid way, I think it would be less desirable.

Representative SNOWE. I want to ask one more question. I have two votes, and I have to be out of here by 12 noon because there is another hearing scheduled at that time. Ms. Bergmann, you mentioned shorter workweeks. Has this concept been studied in detail? Is there anything more you can provide on that issue?

Ms. BERGMANN. I do not think it has caught the attention of economic policymakers or the economics fraternity or the economics profession. Even I am not immune from sexist language.

But I think, for example, Prof. Wassily Leontief, who is a Nobel Prize winner has suggested that we ought to go in that direction. So there has been some thought in that direction.

I really think the fringe benefit problem is very severe, though, and the way it comes up is that if you have to provide health insurance for

a person whether they work 8 hours or 6 hours, it is better for the employer to have him work the longer period, you see. And so, providing health insurance is encouraged by the fact that there is a tax exemption.

So I think that is a major barrier in the way of reducing hours, and I do think we will have to figure it out.

Representative SNOWE. Ms. O'Neill, would you care to comment on shorter workweeks?

Ms. O'NEILL. With respect to the fringe benefit idea, I think it may be true that the effect may have been to have artificially kept hours up. I think actual hours paid for has not declined as much.

The hours have tended to be reduced in the form of longer vacation periods, et cetera. I think the idea that fringe benefits should be taxed is desirable in its own right, and if it allows for a better choice of hours, I think that would be fine.

Trying to legislate shorter hours, though, I think would be a very undesirable thing to do. I do not think there is any reason to believe that there is any sort of scheme afoot that would hurt women.

In Sweden, feminists have tried to legislate a mandatory 6-hour workday—no one could work more than 6 hours—in an effort to try and force women and men to work equal amounts, and they have not succeeded in doing that in Sweden. Women in Sweden are substantially part-time workers—much more so than here. Close to half of Swedish women who are employed work halftime. Sweden is actually an interesting country to study because they have tried most of the things that one thinks of. They have generous paid leave for fathers as well as for mothers, and they have done all sorts of things to coax fathers to take them—I mean sick leave for watching sick children and, maternity and paternity leave for young children or for when a child is born—but, still, the mothers take these leaves much more than the fathers.

Representative SNOWE. I want to thank both of you very much for your time and for your testimony and for your thoughtful analysis. I appreciate your being here today.

This concludes this hearing by the Joint Economic Committee.

[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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